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HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE REFORMATION.

A.D. 64-1517.

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TO AN OLD AND DEAR FRIEND,

WILLIAM MACPHERSON, M.A.,

BARRISTER AT LAW,

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR.

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LIST OF POPES, SOVEREIGNS, ETC.

Popes.

A.D.		A.D.	A.D.		A.D.
1417.	Martin V.	1431	1471.	Sixtus IV.	
1431.	Eugenius IV.		1484.	Innocent VIII.	
	[Felix V. *antip.* 1439-1449.]		1492.	Alexander VI.	
1447.	Nicolas V.		1503.	Pius III. (Sept. 22 - Oct. 18)	
1455.	Calixtus III.			Julius II.	
1458.	Pius II.		1513.	Leo X.	1521
1464.	Paul II.				

Eastern Emperors.

1391.	Manuel	1425	1448.	Constantine XII.	1453
1425.	John Palæologus II.				

Emperors and Kings of the Romans.

Election.		Coronation as Emperor. A.D.		
1410		1433	Sigismund	1437
1438			Albert II.	1439
1440		1452*	Frederick III.	
1493		(See p. 301)	Maximilian I.	1519

Kings of France.

1380.	Charles VI.	1483.	Charles VIII.	
1422.	Charles VII.	1498.	Lewis XII.	
1461.	Lewis XI.	1515.	Francis I.	1547

Kings of England.

1413.	Henry V.		Richard III.	
1422.	Henry VI.	1485.	Henry VII.	
1462.	Edward IV.	1509.	Henry VIII.	1547
1483.	Edward V.			

Kings of Scotland.

1390.	Robert III.	1460.	James III.	
1424.	James I.	1488.	James IV.	
1437.	James II.	1513.	James V.	1542

* This was the last Roman coronation of an Emperor.

Kings of Aragon.

A.D.		A.D.		A.D.
1416.	Alfonso V.		Aragon with Castile	
1458.	John II.		and Leon by mar-	
1479.	Ferdinand II. [united		riage]	

Kings of Castile.

1406.	John II.	1454.	Henry IV.

Castile and Aragon.

1479.	{ Ferdinand V. . .	1516	1516.	Charles I. Emperor
	{ Isabella . . .	1504		Charles V.] abdicated 1556
[1504. Philip in Castile to 1506.]				

Kings of Hungary.

1392.	Sigismund (emperor)		1458.	Matthias I.
1437.	Albert (emperor) .	1439	1490.	Ladislaus VI. (King of
1440.	Ladislaus IV. (King of			Bohemia)
	Poland) . . .	1444	1516.	Lewis II. (King of Bo-
1453.	Ladislaus V. (King of			hemia) . . . 1526
	Bohemia) . .	1457		

Kings of Bohemia.

1378.	Wenceslaus VI. (em-		1458.	George Podibrad
	peror)		1471.	Ladislaus II. (King of
1419.	Sigismund (emperor) .	1437		Hungary)
1438.	Albert (emperor) .	1439	1516.	Lewis (King of Hun-
1440.	Ladislaus I. (King of			gary) . . . 1526
	Hungary) . .	1457		

Kings of Naples.

1414.	Joanna II.		1494.	Alfonso II. (abdicated)
1455.	Alfonso I. (King of		1495.	Ferdinand II.
	Aragon and Sicily)		1496.	Frederick III. (de-
1458.	Ferdinand I.			throned) . . . 1501

Sultans of the Turks.

1413.	Mahomet I.	1481.	Bajazet II.
1421.	Amurath II.	1512.	Selim I. . . . 1520
1451.	Mahomet II.		

Archbishops of Canterbury.

A.D.		A.D.
1414.	Henry Chicheley	
1443.	John Stafford	
1452.	John Kemp	
1454.	Thomas Bourchier	
1486.	John Morton	1500
1501.	Henry Deane	
1503.	William Warham	1532

Archbishops of Mentz.

1397.	John II., Count of Nassau	
1419.	Conrad, Rhinegrave of Dauhn	
1434.	Theodoric I. of Erbach	
1459.	Theodoric II. [Diether] of Isenburg (deposed)	
1461.	Adolphus II., Count of Nassau	
	Theodoric II. (restored)	
1482.	Albert I., Duke of Saxony (administrator)	1482
1484.	Bertold, Count of Hennenberg	
1504.	James of Liebenstein	
1508.	Uriel of Gemmingen	
1514.	Albert II., Margrave of Brandenburg	1545

HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK IX.

FROM THE END OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE TO THE END OF THE FIFTH COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN, A.D. 1418-1517.

CHAPTER I.

MARTIN V.—BOHEMIAN WAR.

A.D. 1418-1431.

THE hopes with which those who desired a reform in the church had looked to the council of Constance were to be disappointed. The measures which the council took with a view to reform were scanty, and were too likely to prove illusory in practice; nor, although it professed to limit the power of the papacy, was there anything to prevent the popes, if so disposed, from continuing to maintain their old assumptions, and to act on their own authority, as if the decrees of the council had no existence.[a]

[a] Milman, vi. 70.

Martin V., after his triumphant departure from Con-
May 16, 1418. stance,[b] proceeded slowly towards the south, remaining for a considerable time in some of the principal cities. At Milan he was received with great magnificence by the duke, Philip Mary Visconti. Avoiding Bologna, which, on the deposition of John XXIII., had declared itself independent,[c] he arrived on the 26th of February 1419 at Florence, where he was lodged in the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella.[d] The state of Rome was not yet such as to invite the pope's return. Braccio of Montone, a condottiere who had been in the service of John XXIII., had made himself master of the city after John's deposi-
June 16, 1417. tion, professing an intention of holding it for the future pope.[e] A sickness which broke out among his troops, and the approach of a stronger Neapolitan force, commanded by Sforza Attendolo, had soon afterwards compelled him to withdraw; but he had made himself lord of his native city, Perugia, and had extended his sway over a large portion of the papal states.[f]

Through the intervention of the Florentine magistrates
Feb. 1420. Braccio was persuaded to meet the pope at Florence, where he was received with extraordinary honours.[g] He was reconciled to the church, and undertook to reduce the turbulent Bolognese to obedience—a task which, with the countenance of cardinal Condolmieri as legate, he was able to accomplish.[h]

[b] See Book VIII. c. viii., near the end.

[c] Vita Mart. in Murat. III. ii. 863; Cron. di Bologna, ib. xviii. 609; Vita Nic. Albergati, Acta SS., Mai. 9, p. 469.

[d] Ist. di Firenze, ib. xix. 956. For the consecration of the monastic church by cardinal Orsini, as the pope's deputy, Sept. 1, 1420, see ib. 966. At Florence, in May 1419, Martin received the submission of the ex-pope, Balthazar Cossa.

[e] Vita Brachii, in Murat. xix. 545 Leon. Aret. 932; Antonin. 486-7; Reumont, ii. 1164.

[f] Vita, 547; Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 607.

[g] Vita Brach. 562-4; Sismondi, vi. 196.

[h] Vita Brach. 566, 571; Annal. Bonon. in Murat. xxiii. 868; Vita

But at Florence the splendour and the profuse expenditure which the condottiere displayed were unfavourably contrasted in the popular estimation with the close economy and the ungenial manners of the pope; and the boys of the streets sang under Martin's own windows a jingle in which he was said to be not worth a farthing.[i]

By these indications of unpopularity it would seem that the pope was determined to leave Florence, after having taken leave of the magistrates in a complimentary speech, and having rewarded the hospitality of the citizens by erecting the see into an archbishoprick.[k] He arrived at Rome on the 28th of September 1420, and two days later went in solemn procession from the Flaminian gate to the Vatican. Although an attempt had been made to put on a festive appearance by means of hangings and other decorations,[l] the eye was everywhere met by evidences of the misery to which the city had been reduced by the long absence of the popes at Avignon, and by the calamities of later years[m]—decaying houses, streets choked by rubbish and filth, the monuments of antiquity barbarously mutilated, dismantled and desolate churches; and beyond the Tiber, the ancient Burg of the English appeared in ruins, having been laid waste by the artillery of the castle of St. Angelo.[n]

Mart. ib. III. ii. 863; Cron. di Bologna, ib. xviii. 611; Platina, 291.

[i] "Papa Martino
Non vale un quattrino."

Leonard of Arezzo says that Martin spoke to him with annoyance of this rhyme; that he replied by mentioning the benefits which the pope had received from his residence at Florence; and that Martin, in taking leave of the magistrates, recurred to these same topics (Murat. xix. 931-2). Cf. Hist. Senens. ib. xx. 20; Bonincontr. ib. xxi. 121. "Nec credendum est," says St. Antoninus, "cantilenam illam pueros edidisse, nisi quidam filii Beliał eos docuissent" (487). Muratori blames the pope for noticing such "latrati plebei." Annal. IX. i. 15.

[k] Leon. Aret. l. c.; Ist. di Firenze, in Murat. xix. 967; Vita Mart. ib. III. ii. 864; Antonin. 487.

[l] F. Contelorius, in Rayn. 1420. 11.

[m] Infessura, in Murat. III. ii. 1128; Reumont, ii. 1168-9.

[n] Reum. ii. 1169; iii. 10, 17. Poggio's description of Rome, as seen about this time from the Capitol (De

Amongst the citizens themselves, the unquiet years of the schism had greatly increased that rudeness of manners which had been already remarkable when pope Gregory XI. returned from Avignon.[o] It seemed, says Platina, as if all the citizens were either sojourners or the confluence of the lowest dregs of mankind ;[p] and soon after the pope's arrival, the sufferings of the people were brought to a height by a violent flood, which caused much damage and produced a scarcity of food.[q] Beyond the walls of the city, all was disorder throughout the papal territory. The Campagna was distracted by the feuds of town against town, of one baron or family against another. Robbers, assassins, and soldiers of predatory habits, committed violence without any check, so that it was unsafe for pilgrims to approach the capital of Christendom.[r]

Nov. 1420.

From this depth of anarchy and wretchedness it was Martin's work to deliver Rome. Churches were restored —and in this the pope's example was followed by the cardinals, who repaired the churches of their respective titles.[s] The erection of public and private buildings marked the beginning of a new era in the varied and eventful history of the city.[t] The vigour and the justice of Martin's administration restored order and security, such as had been long unknown, in the surrounding territory ;[u] and his subjects in general, feeling the benefits which they owed to him, regarded him with reverence and affection, which expressed themselves in styling him the third founder of the city—the "happiness of his

Variet. Fortunæ, l. i. p. 5, seqq., ed. Paris, 1723), is quoted by Gibbon, vi. 411, and more fully by Reumont, iii. 38, who adds further details. Much destruction had been committed within Poggio's own memory.

[o] See Book VIII. c. iv.

[p] Plat. 292.

[q] Ibid.

[r] Infessura, in Murat. III. ii. 1122 ; Gregorov. vii. 10, 25.

[s] Vita Mart. in Murat. III. ii. 867 ; cf. Gregorov. vii. 624-5.

[t] Gregorov. vii. 25, 624.

[u] Infess. in Eccard, ii. 1874.

times."[x] But his cardinals, whom he reduced to a degree of subjection before unknown,[y] were on uneasy terms with him, and, while the old corruptions of the curia were unabated,[z] the pope himself was charged with excessive love of money, with a sordid parsimony, and with an undue care for the interests of his relations, whom he endowed with castles and lands at the expense of the church.[a]

While Martin was labouring to restore the material fabric of his city, two popular saints—one of either sex—were zealously labouring there for religious and moral reformation.

Frances of Rome, born in 1384, showed in early years a wish to devote herself to virginity, but was constrained to marry a noble Roman, Lorenzo de' Ponziani, with whom she lived more than twenty-eight years.[b] But even while in the married state her life was very strict, and she founded the order of "Oblates of the blessed Virgin," which had its headquarters in the Tor de' Specchi at Rome.[c] These oblates were A.D. 1425. not bound by a vow of celibacy, but were at liberty to leave the order for marriage;[d] and they were under the superintendence of the monks of Mount Olivet, whose order (as we have already seen)[e] had been founded about a century earlier. Frances, after her husband's death,

[x] Plat. 287, 292; Vita, in Murat. III. ii. 866; Gregorov. vii. 25.

[y] Ib. 22. Voigt quotes a letter of 1429, in which it is said that Martin had subjected the cardinals to such a degree, that they did not venture to say anything to him but what he liked, and that in his presence they became red and pale by turns. 'Stimmen aus Rom' (from documents relating to the Teutonic order), in Raumer's Histor. Taschenbuch for 1833, p. 74.

[z] See Voigt, pp. 93, seqq.

[a] "Avarissimus fuit, miserabiliter in palatio apud SS. Apostolos vixit Nulla religio, nulla cæremonia servabatur; magnum thesaurum nepotibus cumulavit, et castra multa ecclesiæ circa Romam eis dedit." (Vita, in Murat. III. ii. 859.) Sism. Rép. Ital. vi. 262; Giesel. II. iv. 49; Voigt, 170; Gregorov. vii. 11-12, 24; Reumont, III. i. 65, 70.

[b] Acta SS. Mart. 9 (where there are two Lives of her), 94-6, 179. There is a Life in English by Lady G. Fullerton.

[c] Acta SS. 96.

[d] Ib. 192; Migne, Dict. des Ordres Relig. iii. 1; Holsten. v. 17.

[e] Book VIII. c. x. sect. ii. 1. Acta SS. 191.

became the head of the oblate sisterhood, and gave herself wholly up to mortification, devotion, and charity.[f] The biographies of this saint are full of miracles, prophecies, and visions. Among other things we are told that an archangel was specially assigned to attend on her in the form of a boy nine years old; that to this guardian another angel of a lower order was afterwards added; and that she saw the Saviour place a crown on the head of her archangel, as a reward for having well kept her soul.[g]

The death of Frances took place in 1440;[h] she was canonized by Paul V. in 1608;[i] and the church founded on the site of the temple of Venus and Rome, which was formerly known as Santa Maria Nuova, and in which she is buried, is now dedicated to her honour.[k]

The other great saint of the time, Bernardine of Siena, was born in 1380, and entered the Franciscan order.[l] Desiring a greater rigour than that which he found around him, he may have been tempted to run, like many of his brotherhood, into the extravagances of the fraticelli; but instead of this he undertook a reform which was styled "of the strict observance," and the number of convents founded by him in Italy is said to have exceeded 500.[m] As a preacher he attained great eminence, which is said to have been foretold by the most famous preacher of the preceding generation, St. Vincent Ferrer;[n] and it

[f] Acta SS. 96, 183.

[g] "Hanc victoriæ coronam impono, quia bene custodisti meæ famulæ animam." Acta SS. 135.

[h] Acta SS. 100.

[i] Ib. 89.

[k] Aringhi, Roma Subterr. ii. 8-13, Rom. 1651.

[l] Acta SS., Maii 20, p. 117.

[m] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid., in Kollar, Monum. ii. 173.

[n] Acta SS. 137. Trithemius calls him "declamatorum sui temporis celeberrimus" (De Scriptoribus Eccles. p. 37). Maffeo Vegio describes his preaching from personal knowledge (Acta SS. 122, 127. Cf. Antonin. iii. 490). Such was the force of Bernardine's eloquence, that Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (a man little susceptible of such influences, as it might seem), was almost persuaded by it to enter his order (Acta SS. 130). Æneas Sylvius had heard him preaching for sixty days at Siena, and was present when (by miracle, as was supposed) he kept off a threatening storm

is added that, from the time when he entered on his work, he was freed from a hoarseness of voice with which he had been before afflicted.[o] His eloquence was effectually exerted against the prevailing evils—a disregard of the outward duties of religion, a neglect of the holy communion, a fondness for gaming and other idle amusements, a reliance on arts of divination and magic.[p] He reconciled enemies, composed the feuds by which the Italians had been distracted for generations,[q] and expressed his abhorrence of worldly vanities in a way at once symbolical and practical, June 21, 1424. by committing to a great bonfire on the Capitoline hill, pictures, instruments of music, the implements of gaming, false hair, and the extravagances of female attire in general.[r] Many miracles are ascribed to Bernardine, and he refused several bishopricks.[s] But his career excited much envy, and he was assailed by charges of heresy and idolatry on account of an ornament which he invented as a help to devotion. The question was discussed before the pope, who, although in general he heartily supported Bernardine, pronounced against the use of the symbol; and the saint dutifully obeyed.[t] His death

of rain. (Hist. Frider. 174. Cf. De Europa, 465-6.) A like miracle is recorded of St. Antony of Padua. Acta SS., Jun. 13. p. 219.

[o] Acta SS., Maii 20, p. 96.

[p] Ib.

[q] Ib. 124, 139; Infessura in Eccard, ii. 1875.

[r] Ib. 1874; Acta SS. 97; Gregorov. vii. 10. Similar acts are recorded (as we shall see hereafter) of John of Capistrano, and of Savonarola; also of a Franciscan named Richard, whose preaching made a great sensation at Paris in 1429, and who extolled Bernardine as "ung des bons prescheurs du monde." As Richard had taken a course which the Parisians disapproved in politics, they revenged themselves after his departure by cursing him "de Dieu et de ses saints," by resuming all the games which they had been persuaded by him to give up, and by throwing away plates which he had distributed, with the Saviour's name engraved on them, and taking instead the Burgundian cross of St. Andrew. Bourgeois de Paris (in Monstrelet, ed. Buchon, xv. 383-7, 393).

[s] Acta SS. 98 seqq., 130-2, 140-2.

[t] Ib. 99, 112, 128; Antonin. 490-1; Reumont, iii. 69. At the council of Basel, there was discussion "de cultu tabellæ nominis Jesu," which Bernardine had introduced (Hard. ix. 1148). Eugenius IV. also befriended him when assailed. Rayn. 1432. 24.

took place at Aquila in 1444; and at the jubilee of 1450 he received the honour of canonization, for which he had been especially recommended to Nicolas V. by the influence of Alfonso of Naples.[u]

The state of the Neapolitan kingdom contributed to the difficulties of Martin's position. Joanna II., who succeeded her brother Ladislaus in 1414, had been the wife of an Austrian prince, after whose death she gave herself up to the unrestrained indulgence of her passions, while the government was made over to the rivalries of courtiers and favourites.[x] From among the princes who sued for her hand, Joanna, who had reached the age of forty-six, chose James, count of La Marche, a member of the royal family of France, and after some delay she bestowed on him the title of king.[y] But the new husband, wishing to guard himself against a repetition of her former irregularities, placed her in a state of seclusion, from which she was delivered by a popular insurrection. The king was imprisoned in his turn; but after a time he obtained his release, and withdrew from Naples to become a Franciscan in his native country, while Joanna relapsed into her old course of life.[z] Having resolved to adopt an heir, she at first chose Lewis III. of Anjou, then discarded him in favour of Alfonso V. of Aragon, and again set aside Alfonso for Lewis,[a] whose death soon after gave occasion for further

A.D. 1415.

[u] Rayn. 1450. 2; Antonin. 554; Acta SS. 88, 102, 107; Wadding, xi. 233, seqq., 275, seqq.; xii. 25, seqq. For the translation of his remains to the church founded in his honour at Aquila, A.D. 1472, see Wadding, xiv. The silver shrine in which his body is enclosed was the gift of Lewis XI. of France, in 1481. Ib. 264. Bernardine's works have been edited by De la Haye, in five volumes folio.

[x] Guicciardini, i. 16; Giannone, iv. 184; Sism. vi. 172.

[y] Bonincontr. in Murat. xxi. 101; Giorn. Napol. ib. 1080; Giannone, iv. 186.

[z] Bonincontr. 112, 118-19; Rayn. 1420. 7; Bayle, artt. *Naples*, *Jeanne II.*, *Alfonse*; Giann. iv. 190, 194, 199; Sism. Rép. Ital. vi. 177, 194; Murat. Ann. IX. i. 123.

[a] Flav. Blondus, 411; Antonin. iii. 491-2; Giann. iv. 202-13; Sism. vi. 198, seqq., 227.

difficulties. Martin was suspected of an intention to set one of his own nephews, whom he had created prince of Salerno, on the throne at the queen's death.[b] Braccio of Montone had again broken with the pope, and had threatened to reduce him to such straits that he would be glad to say masses at a halfpenny each.[c]

The south of Italy was continually distracted by contests which arose out of these affairs, and was a battle-ground for the mercenary forces of Braccio and Sforza Attendolo, until in 1424 Sforza was drowned in the Pescara, and Braccio died of wounds received in action.[d] In consequence of the difficulties as to Naples, it seemed at one time likely that the king of Aragon might return to the obedience of Benedict XIII.,[e] who, although deserted by almost all his scanty college of cardinals,[f] continued to maintain his claims to the papacy on the rock of Peñiscola.[g] But Martin was able to avert this danger, and to draw off from Benedict Scotland and such other powers as had hitherto adhered to him.[h] On the death of Benedict, in 1424,[i] attempts were made to set up successors of his line; but by the aid of Alfonso, with whom Martin was at length fully reconciled, these

[b] Murat. Ann. IX. i. 122.

[c] Antonin. 489.

[d] There are Lives of both these condottieri in Muratori, xix.; cf Leon. Aret. 932; Infessura in Eccard, ii. 1874; Bonincontr. 131, 133; Antonin. 490; Rayn. 1424. 15-16; Sism. vi. 194, 196, 221, 229, 235.

[e] Rayn. 1424. 3.

[f] Ciacon. ii. 810. See Mansi in Rayn. t. viii. p. 491; Murat. Ann. IX. i. 141, 145.

[g] Benedict is said to have told the emperor that he gave him leave to make another pope, and was willing to release his cardinals from obedience; but that he would die pope. Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 605.

[h] Plat. 287; Rayn. 1418. 12; 1419. 6; 1420. 1-2.

[i] "Benedictus ... manens in sua pertinacia transivit annos Petri ad cumulum suæ damnationis. Nec mirum, quia non in sede Petri." (Antonin. iii. 486.) Benedict had been elected in 1394, and is supposed to have been ninety years old at his death (Murat. Ann. IX. i. 153). It is said, but does not seem to be certain, that on his death-bed he made four cardinals (Mansi in Rayn. viii. 564). Mariana reports a story that he was poisoned (ii. 291). It was afterwards said that a sweet odour proceeded from his remains, but this the historian supposes to be asserted "mas por aficion que con verdad." Ib. 313.

attempts were easily frustrated, and the phantom anti-popes were glad to secure the reality of less exalted dignities which Martin bestowed on them.[k] Two cardinals, who obstinately held out, were seized and imprisoned by the count of Foix; and their further history is unknown.[l]

In his dealings with the kingdoms of Latin Christendom, Martin was careful to maintain the highest views of the papal prerogatives. The concordat of Constance was ill received in France, where the parliament of Paris rejected it; and, although an attempt had been made to conciliate the French by remitting half of the annates, in consideration of the English war, a royal ordinance was issued in 1418, and again in 1422, renewing the former prohibitions of sending money to the Roman court.[m] On the death of Charles VI., which took place in 1422, Martin attempted to entice his young successor, Charles VII., into a surrender of the liberties which had been asserted for the national church; it was said that the pastor's judgments must be reverenced, even although they may be unjust. Against this Gerson wrote a treatise, in which, among other things, he referred to the oath by which the French kings at their coronation bound themselves to defend the liberties of the church.[n] Martin, however, succeeded in gaining the king's mother and brother; and through their influence Charles was persuaded to order, in 1425, that the papal authority should be obeyed as it had been in the times of Clement VII. and Benedict XIII., notwithstanding any ordinances of the crown, decrees of the parliament, or other orders or

[k] Rayn. 1423. 8-9; 1424. 2; 1425. 4; 1426. 1-8; 1427. 22; 1428. 1-2, with Mansi's note; Vita Mart. 866 1; Plat. 294; Schröckh, xxxi. 544; Gregorov. vii. 21-2.

[l] Vita Mart. 867.

[m] Bulæus, v. 328, 330; Preuves des Libertez de l'Egl. Gall. 602-5; Schröckh, xxxi. 521, 539; Giesel. II. iv. 46.

[n] Opera, ii. 424.

usages to the contrary.[o] And as Charles himself, when dauphin, had sworn to observe the national laws, the pope absolved him from his oath.[p]

With regard to England, Martin outdid his predecessors in maintaining the abuses of which the nation had long and justly complained.[q] He appointed bishops by provision, in contempt of the electoral rights of chapters; and of this encroachment it is said that thirteen instances occurred in the province of Canterbury within two years.[r] He usurped patronage, and abused it, as in the case of his nephew Prosper Colonna, whom he made archdeacon of Canterbury at the age of fourteen;[s] and in this and other instances he continued to sanction the crying evil of non-residence.[t] But these practices were not always allowed to pass without resistance. Thus the church of York refused to accept the nomination of Robert Fleming to the archbishoprick; and Fleming was glad to fall back on the see of Lincoln, which he had previously held.[u] When the English representatives at Constance found the pope hesitating and unsatisfactory in his reply to their statement of grievances which needed redress, they told him that their mission was merely a matter of courtesy, and that the king would take the matter into his own hands, according to his right.[x]

The death of Henry V., whose strength of character and warlike successes had made him formidable, the infancy of his successor, and the discords between the young king's ambitious kinsmen, Henry Beaufort bishop of Winchester, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester,[y] encouraged the pope to aggression. He designed to

[o] Preuves des Libertez de l'Egl. Gall. 606-7.

[p] Rayn. 1425. 8.

[q] Collier, iii. 327.

[r] Duck, Vita H. Chichele, 55; Collier, l. c. But I cannot find that there were so many appointments of bishops in any *four* successive years.

[s] Duck, 55. See Bekynton's Correspondence (Chron. and Mem.), i. 284.

[t] Duck, 56.

[u] Collier, iii. 329.

[x] Duck, 57; Collier, iii. 328.

[y] Ib 339. Dr. Pauli (v. 195), Mr.

supersede the ordinary jurisdiction of the English metropolitans by establishing a resident legate *a latere;* and for this purpose the services which Beaufort had rendered at the council of Constance were to be rewarded with the dignity of cardinal, and with a legatine authority over England and Ireland.[z] Against this legation archbishop Chichele had protested in a letter to Henry V., on the ground that no legate *a latere* had ever been sent into England except on special business; that such legates had not been admitted without the sovereign's licence; and that their stay had been only for a short time.[a] In consequence of the primate's letter, the king forbade the bishop to accept the intended appointments.[b]

A.D. 1419.

In 1426 Beaufort was declared cardinal of St. Eusebius; and in September 1428 he ventured to appear in England as legate. But he was compelled to promise, before the king's council, that he would refrain from all acts which might be against the rights of the crown or of the people. Attempts were made to deprive him of Winchester, on the ground that it could not be held with his new dignity; and although, after a struggle of four years, he was allowed to retain his see, and to resume his place in the council, it was under conditions which restrained him from acting as an instrument of the papacy in opposition to the national interests.[c]

To such a pope as Martin the statutes of provisors and præmunire were not likely to be acceptable. In 1426 he wrote to the king, to the parliament, and to the archbishops,[d] urging a repeal of these statutes, which he

Foss (iv. 295), and Dean Hook (v. 141, 211), are favourable to Beaufort. The stories of his dying miserably, to which Shakespeare has given lasting currency, originated in the following century. Pauli, v. 285-6.

[z] Hook, v. 88-9.

[a] The letter is in Duck, 77.

[b] Ib. 80.

[c] Collier, iii. 348; Lingard, iv. 64; Hook, v. 105

[d] He named York before Canterbury (Wilk. iii 471). See Hook, v. 94. The letters are in Wilkins, iii. 479, seqq.;

characterized as execrable, pernicious to souls, worse than the laws by opposing which St. Thomas of Canterbury had become a martyr and a saint; worse than anything enacted against Jews or Saracens. He speaks of the king of England as arrogating to himself the office of Christ's vicar. To Chichele (who had offended him by opposition to papal exemptions) he writes with extraordinary violence; throwing out against him groundless charges of indifference to his pastoral duty, and of caring only for money; and urging him to oppose the obnoxious laws in parliament, to threaten their supporters with the censures of the church, and in the meantime to treat them as a nullity.[e] He even went so far as to suspend the archbishop, who replied by appealing to a general council.[f]

Yet this attempt failed of the expected success. Chichele contented himself with recommending the matter to the serious consideration of parliament, and representing the dangers of the pope's anger and of the interdict which he was likely to issue; and the parliament did nothing beyond petitioning the king that he would obtain, through his ambassador, a cessation of the proceedings against the primate, and his restoration to the pope's favour.[g] Jan. 30, 1429.

As the time which had been appointed at Constance for the meeting of the next general council approached, the pope was urged by the university of Paris and from other quarters to take the necessary steps for assembling it;[h] but although he A.D. 1423.

Burnet, Hist. Ref. ed. Pocock, iv. 148, seqq. A letter from Chichele in vindication of himself, in Bekynton, i. 255.

[e] Rinaldi (1426. 19), Chacon (ii. 845-6), and other foreign writers sometimes confound Henry Chichele with Henry Beaufort.

[f] Wilk. iii. 484-6.

[g] Collier, iii. 345; Milman, vi. 75-7; Hook, v. 91-102. Martin also complained of the interference of the secular power with ecclesiastical affairs in Poland (Rayn. 1427. 17; Giesel. II. iv. 48), and in Scotland. Jos. Robertson, Pref. to Statuta Eccl. Scot. 72-6.

[h] Rayn. 1423. 2.

affected, in his answer to the Parisians, to clear himself from suspicions of wishing to elude the decree of Constance,[i] he showed no eagerness in the matter, and it became evident that, instead of allowing the council liberty, he intended to keep the control of it in his own hands.[k] Only a few bishops and others had assembled at Pavia, the appointed place, when, in consequence of a pestilence which was raging, the pope transferred the sessions to Siena.[l] On the 21st of July the council opened, under the presidency of papal commissioners, with a sermon by Fleming, bishop of Lincoln;[m] but, although it continued until the spring of the following year, hardly anything was done beyond renewing the condemnations of Wyclif, Hus, and Peter de Luna, and granting an indulgence to those who should serve against the heretics.[n] Something was also said as to a reunion with the Greeks, with a view to which communications had lately taken place;[o] and some proposals for ecclesiastical reform were made by the French.[p] But it was evident that nothing was to be expected from the assembly, which dwindled from its originally small numbers, and was distracted by differences among its members.[q] On the 8th of March 1424 the council of Siena broke up,[r] and the hopes of Chris-

April 23, 1423.

[i] Rayn. 1423. 2.

[k] Joh. de Ragusio, in Monum. Conciliorum XVti Sæculi, i. 3-8, 20. Cf. Hefele, vii. 390.

[l] Joh. Ragus. 11; Vita Mart. in Murat. III. ii. 861, 865; Hefele, vii. 391; Hard. viii. 1014; Joh. Amundesham, i. 130 (Chron. and Mem.); Rayn. 1423. 3-4. It seems that there had been two sessions at Pavia. Mansi, in Rayn. t. viii. 561.

[m] Joh. Ragus. 12. Rinaldi gives Aug. 22 as the date. 1423. 10.

[n] Joh. Ragus. 22, seqq.; Hard. viii. 1015-17; Mariana, l. xx. c. 14. It was in consequence of this renewed sentence that bishop Fleming carried out the order of the Council of Constance for burning Wyclif's body. (Godwin, 297.) Perhaps Repyngdon, who held the see of Lincoln at the time of the council, may have been unwilling to outrage the remains of his old associate. Lechler, ii. 325.

[o] Joh. Ragus. 24; Hard. viii. 1017.

[p] Joh. Ragus. 27, seqq.

[q] Ib. 41; Rayn. 1424. 3, seqq. The representatives of Alfonso of Aragon gave much trouble on account of the Neapolitan question. Ib. 12.

[r] See for this council, Hefele, vii. 393 seqq. The bull of dissolution is in

tendom were turned to the next general council, which was to meet at Basel seven years later—an interval which the reforming party, on finding themselves disappointed at Siena, had vainly attempted to shorten.[s]

In the meantime Bohemia had been a scene of frightful confusion. The tidings of Hus's death were received there with unbounded indignation. He and Jerome were celebrated as martyrs with a yearly festival.[t] Medals were struck in honour of Hus;[u] his image or picture was placed over the high altar in churches,[x] and the zeal of some of his partisans went so far as to declare that of all the martyrs no one had approached so near to the Saviour's example.[y]

At the council of Constance (as we have seen)[z] some articles on the question of administering the eucharist in

Rayn. 1424. 5. Martin, after the council, appointed a commission for reform, and himself laid down rules for the cardinals, which probably contributed to make them dislike him. But nothing came of the commission. Ib. 3-5.

[s] Joh. Ragus. 53; Hard. viii. 1107, seqq.

[t] Martin in Rayn. 1418. 6; Th. Vrie in V. d. Hardt, iv. 391; Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. 36. See Cochl. 98; Theobald. 66-7; Lechler, ii. 285. A sermon "a quodam pio," in Hus, Opera, ii. 360, seqq.

[u] Lenfant, i. 74.

[x] Theobald tells us that Bethlehem chapel was adorned with memorials of Hus and Jerome as martyrs, and that it was usual to cut off chips of Hus's pulpit as relics (14-15). It was believed in other countries (probably with reference to the meaning of Hus's name) that instead of the images of saints, the party set up a white goose for worship. J. Fistenport, in Hahn, Monum. i. 403.

[y] Steph. Dolan. in Pez, IV. ii. 521; Cochl. 54. See Stephen's account of a book by a female Hussite, l. c. 520 Cochlæus, 154. Cochlæus frequently and strongly expresses a very opposite opinion. Thus, of Hus's alleged wish that his soul might be with that of Wyclif, he says:—"Multo graviora esse crediderim Wiclephi tormenta, quam sint apud inferos sceleratissimorum hominum, Judæ proditoris Christi, et Neronis Christianorum persequutoris" (p. 92). And as to Hus himself: "Dico igitur Joannem Hus neque sanctum neque beatum habendum esse, sed impium potius ac æternaliter miserum, adeo ut in die judicii remissius habeant judicari non solum infideles Pagani, Turcæ, Tartari et Judæi, verum etiam flagitiosissimi Sodomitæ, ac impurissimi filiarum aut sororum, immo et matrum, compressores Persæ, atque etiam immanissimi parricidæ, Cain, Thyestes, Lestrygones, aliique anthropophagi, et famosi infanticidæ Pharao et Herodes, etc." (p. 98). Jerome is declared to be y worse than Hus. p. 141.

[z] Book VIII. c. viii.

one or in two kinds were drawn up by a committee, who argued that, as the church had without question changed the hour of celebration, so it had authority to deviate from the original institution of the sacrament by withholding the cup from the laity;[a] and on this the council, about three weeks before Hus's death, passed a decree in condemnation of the opposite practice.[b] In answer to the arguments and to the decree of Constance, Jacobellus of Misa, the author of the movement for administration in both kinds, put forth a vehement defence of his opinion;[c] and to this, by desire of the council, replies were written by Gerson and by Maurice, a doctor of Prague.[d] King Wenceslaus and the archbishop of Prague united in ordering that the administration in both kinds should be relinquished; but throughout Bohemia and Moravia the order was generally disregarded.[e] There were daily and nightly conflicts between the opposite parties in the Bohemian capital.[f] There were continual disputations, in which Hussite laymen of mean occupations—tanners, shoemakers, tailors, and the like—were forward to engage against the clergy.[g]

June 15, 1415.

In September 1415, a letter, to which four hundred and

[a] V. d. Hardt, iii. 586, seqq.

[b] As to questions of meaning, see Schröckh, xxxiii. 358.

[c] V. d. Hardt, III. xviii. coll. 591, seqq. See also his treatise against Broda in Pt. xvii., and an anonymous tract against him, in Pt. xix.

[d] Gerson, I. iii. 757; V. d. Hardt, iii. 779, seqq., 826, seqq. Jacobellus also wrote, "De vera existentia corporis et sanguinis Christi in sacra Cœna" (V. d. Hardt, iii. 884, seqq.). He is for adoration of the sacrament (c. 6), and for transubstantiation, and tries (c. 11) to make it appear that Wyclif (whom he styles 'Doctor Evangelicus') agrees with him. The Hussites, resting on the text of St. John vi. 53, "Except ye eat," etc., insisted on infant-communion. Anon. adv. Jacobell. 117; Byzyn. 131-2. See Lechler, ii. 295-6.

[e] L. Byzynius, in Ludewig, Reliquiæ MSCtorum Monumentorum, vi. 139 (Francof. 1724); Palacky, Doc. 87; Giesel. II. iv. 422; Hefele, vii. 175. Wenceslaus had been represented at Constance as favourable to the Hussites, and the council wrote to Sigismund, complaining of his brother's "socordia." Docum. p. 565, and Nos. 105, 108, 109.

[f] Theobald. 53.

[g] Cochl. 153.

fifty-two nobles and knights of Bohemia and Moravia attached their seals, was addressed to the council, protesting vehemently against the iniquity of its proceedings against Hus, against its treatment of Jerome (who was still in prison), and against the imputations which had been cast on the orthodoxy of Bohemia.[h] And three days later the Hussite leaders bound themselves by an engagement for six years to maintain the doctrine which they regarded as true and scriptural.[i] Some churches had already been given up for the administration of the eucharist in both kinds; but Nicolas of Hussinecz, the patron of Hus, appeared before the fortress of the Wissehrad, close to Prague, at the head of an armed multitude, demanding of the king that a greater number of churches should be made over to the party.[k] The council, which had already announced the punishment of Hus to the Bohemians,[l] and had sent the bishop of Leitomysl into Bohemia with a commission for the suppression of heresy,[m] replied severely to the Hussite manifesto;[n] while Sigismund wrôte from Paris in a conciliatory tone, assuring the Bohemians that he had wished to protect Hus, but had found it impossible, and earnestly exhorting them to avoid the danger of a religious war.[o]

In March 1417, the university of Prague, of which Hus's friend John Cardinal had been elected rector, published a resolution in favour of administering the chalice to the laity;[p] but the council was still resolved to make no concession, and drew up twenty-four articles with a view to the suppression of the Hussite doctrines.[q] In accordance with this course of policy, pope Martin, on the 22nd of February 1418, sent forth a bull requiring

[h] Doc. 85.
[i] Ib. 86
[k] Theobald. 66-7.
[l] Doc. 81.
[m] Ib. 83-4, Aug. 31, 1415.
[n] Ib. 97.
[o] Ib. 95, 98 (March 1416).
[p] Hus, etc., Opera, ii. 364; Theob. 65; Lenf. Conc. de Basle, i. 73.
[q] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1514; Cochl. 165; Hefele, vii. 344.

all authorities, ecclesiastical and civil, to labour for the suppression of the heresies of Wyclif, Hus, and Jerome.[r]

Immediately after the end of the council, cardinal John of Ragusa (formerly a partizan of Gregory XII.) was sent into Bohemia as legate.[s] The choice was unfortunate. John had before talked of reducing the country by fire and sword, and, in his character of legate, he committed acts of great violence, such as the burning of a priest and a layman who opposed him in one place.[t] By such means the Bohemians were roused to fury, and the cardinal, having utterly failed to accomplish the object of his mission, withdrew into Hungary, to report his ill success to Sigismund. His death took place soon after his arrival in that country.[u]

With Nicolas of Hussinecz, the political chief of the Hussites, who is described as a man of deep counsel and of somewhat unscrupulous policy,[x] was associated a leader of a different stamp — John of Trocznow, known by the name of Ziska.[y] Ziska had in boyhood been a page in the household of Wenceslaus, and had since distinguished himself in the Polish wars, to which his loss of an eye has been commonly referred.[z] He had sworn

[r] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1518, sepq. Among the tests by which suspected persons were to be examined, are these:— "Utrum credat, teneat, et asserat, quod quodlibet concilium generale, et etiam Constantiense, universalem ecclesiam repræsentet;" "Utrum credat quod illud quod sacrum concilium Constantiense, universam ecclesiam repræsentans, approbavit et approbat, in favorem fidei . . . quod hoc est ab universis Christi fidelibus approbandum et tenendum,' etc. Hence it was argued at the council of Basel, and afterwards by the Gallican party, that Martin approved the whole proceedings of the council of Constance, including its assumption of superiority over the papacy. On the other side, it is maintained that his words are intended to apply only to the council's decrees in matters of faith and salvation, and that the point in question is not of this sort. See Hefele, vii. 347-8.

[s] Rayn. 1418. 8.

[t] Lenf. Conc. de Basle, i. 74, 97; Schröckh, xxxiv. 674.

[u] Antonin. iii. 486; Lenf. i. 98.

[x] See Palacky, III. i. 65.

[y] It is commonly said that Ziska means *one-eyed*; but Aschbach quotes Pelzel as saying that the word has no such meaning, and is a family name, of which the sense is unknown. iii. 5.

[z] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. i. 38; Theob. 68; Palacky, III. ii. 359. Some say that he lost his eye in playing while a boy.

to avenge the death of Hus,[a] and it is said that he obtained a patent from the king, under which he raised a number of soldiers.[b] At the head of a powerful force he moved about the country, everywhere enforcing the administration of the sacrament in both kinds; and, in token of his devotion to the cause, he displayed the eucharistic cup on his banners, and added the words "of the chalice" to the signature of his name.[c]

On St. Mary Magdalene's day 1419, a great meeting of Hussites was assembled on a hill near Aust, in the circle of Bechin, where the holy communion was celebrated in the open air. There was no previous confession; the clergy (among whom were John Cardinal and Jacobellus of Misa) wore no distinctive vestures; the chalices were of wood, and the 300 altars were without any covering.[d] Forty-two thousand persons —men, women, and children—communicated; and the celebration was followed by a love-feast, at which the rich shared with their poorer brethren; but no drinking or dancing, no gaming or music, was allowed.[e] The people encamped in tents, which, in the Bohemian language, were called *Tabor;* and out of this celebration grew a town which received that name, with reference at once to the circumstances of the meeting, and to the mount of the Saviour's transfiguration.[f] July 22.

From this great assembly Ziska and his followers proceeded to Prague, where they arrived by night. On the following day they attacked and plundered some convents. The magistrates of the city, who had met in the town-hall,

[a] Aschbach, iii. 12.

[b] Lenf. i. 100.

[c] Ib. 163.

[d] Byzyn. 143; Lenf. i. 101; Giesel. II. iv. 429.

[e] Byzyn. 187 8; Giesel. II. iv. 429.

[f] "Tanquam cum tribus apostolis salvatoris Christi transfigurationem in monte vidissent, indeque suas opiniones mutuati essent, quas fidei veritates appellant" (Æn. Sylv. i. 40). The present town of Tabor, according to Palacky, does not stand (as has been commonly supposed) on the site where the meeting took place, but was founded among the remains of an old fortress (III. ii. 251). It was fortified by Ziska (Lenf. i. 104).

were butchered or driven to flight; some of them were thrown from the windows, and were caught by the Hussites on pikes and pitchforks. A fierce struggle took place between the insurgents and the people of the Old Town, who were in favour of the church.[g] Wenceslaus, whose deposition had been threatened, was agitated by these scenes to such a degree that he was seized with apoplexy, which, in a few days, put an end to his life.[h] Such was the fear of the popular excitement, that his body was hastily thrust into the tomb, without the usual ceremonies of royal interment.[i]

July 30.

Aug. 16.

As the late king had left no children, Bohemia fell by inheritance to his brother Sigismund; and this change became the signal for increased exasperation on the part of the Hussites. Wenceslaus, although personally vicious and despicable, had in some measure directly favoured Hus and his followers, while they had benefited in a much greater degree by his indolence and apathy; whereas Sigismund was execrated by them, as the traitor by whose safe-conduct Hus had been lured to Constance, and by whom he had there been abandoned to the enemies of the true faith. At once the reformers broke out without restraint. On the very next day after the death of Wenceslaus, some convents at Prague were attacked, and many of the monks were slaughtered; and the movement soon spread to other places. Churches and monasteries were plundered and reduced to ruin, images were mutilated and broken to pieces, organs were demolished, pictures and other ornaments were defaced and destroyed; and in these outrages the lust of spoil mingled with the rage of religious fanaticism.[k]

[g] Byzyn. 143; Rayn. 1419. 10; Schröckh, xxxiv. 676.

[h] Æn. Sylv. cc. 36-7: Theob. 72.

[i] Æn. Sylv. 37; Byzyn. 144-5.

[k] Ib. 145-8; Cochl. 184; Theob. 70-2; H. Corner, 1248; Palacky, III. ii. 48-50.

Sigismund, being fully occupied by war with the Turks on the east of his dominions, was unable to take such measures with regard to Bohemia as might have checked the reforming movement at an early stage; and when at length he turned his especial attention to the state of his newly-inherited kingdom, he found that the Hussites had developed fresh extravagances of opinion, and that they were no longer to be appeased by concessions which, at an earlier time, they would have gladly accepted.[l]

The popular assemblies, of which the example had been given on the hill of Tabor, became a part of the Hussite system. Men, women, and children flocked to them by tens of thousands, in defiance of the will of their landlords. The spirit of the party was strengthened on such occasions by the joint reception of the eucharist in both kinds, and by exciting denunciations of the simony, the greed, the luxury, and other vices, which were freely imputed to the clergy of the church; and at every meeting of this kind the place and time of the next meeting were fixed.[m]

The Bohemians were much divided among themselves. A small proportion—more considerable among the nobles than in any other class[n]—adhered to the Roman church, as did also the German inhabitants of the kingdom, with the exception of some in the capital.[o] Among those who were in favour of reformation, the name of Utraquists or Calixtines[p] was given to the more moderate section, who would have been content with the liberty of communicating in both kinds, and other such concessions, and desired to remain, if possible, in the unity of the Roman church.[q] The utraquists were supported by the

[l] Schmidt, iv. 143; Palacky, III. ii. 50-1, 241-2, 324-5, 352.

[m] Byzyn. 150, 189; Schmidt, iv. 143; Giesel. II. iv. 430; Palacky, III. ii. 60-1.

[n] Ib. 55.

[o] Ib. 56.

[p] From insisting on the administration of the cup (*calix*), or on communion "sub *utraque* specie."

[q] Palacky, III. ii. 53, 57.

authority of the university of Prague; and among them were included the people of the capital in general, with the reforming nobles. The fiercer zealots, who were known by the name of Taborites, professed to rest on Scripture only, rejecting everything of a traditional kind, and many of the externals of religion. They condemned all occupations for which no scriptural authority could be shown; they denounced all worldly amusements, and even all human learning.[r] Their political opinions tended to republicanism, and, while they were strong among the population of towns, and yet more among the peasantry, the party had few adherents among the nobility. Its chiefs belonged to the class of knights or gentry—such as the politician Nicolas of Hussinecz and the warrior John Ziska, who, on the death of Nicolas, became the acknowledged head of the Taborites.[s]

Christmas, 1420.

Ziska fixed his head-quarters, and established a government, at Tabor; and to him it is probably to be attributed that Hussitism was able to surmount the dangers which threatened it at the outset.[t] His genius for war is described as marvellous. The tactics which he had learned in the Polish campaigns were varied by his original invention, and skilfully adapted to the special circumstances of his followers. The peasantry whom he led had at first no other offensive weapons than clubs and flails; but Ziska taught them to arm these with iron, and to make them instruments of terrible power. He taught

[r] Byzyn. 190, seqq.; Giesel. II. iv. 433; Palacky, III. ii. 58, 190. The opinions of this section were set forth in fourteen articles, A.D. 1420. See Giesel. II. iv. 434-5. They are said to have looked up to a tavern-keeper in the new town of Prague as having an unequalled knowledge of the Scriptures (Byzyn. 203). See as to the irreverences of the Taborites in connection with the eucharist, Rokyczana de Sacramentis, 475 (at the end of Cochlæus). A set of articles against them, drawn up at Prague by the more moderate party, Sept. 1418, is in Doc. 118.

[s] Lenf. i. 234, seqq.; Palacky, III. ii. 57, 197. There were some who held with one section in religion and with the other in politics. Ib. 293.

[t] Ib. III. ii. 82, 88, 359; Hallam, M.A. i. 463.

them to range their rough carts together in the battle-field, and to connect them in such a manner as to present to the assailants an impregnable fortress; and the novelty of these contrivances increased the terror with which they were regarded by the enemy, who sometimes fled in panic alarm at the very sight of the Hussites with their strange equipments.[u]

The eucharistic chalice was not only represented on the banners of the party, but was carried by priests at the head of their forces; and on reaching a town, the priests, in their ordinary dress, worn and stained by travel, hurried to the altar of some church, said a short form of consecration, and administered the sacrament in both kinds to all who would receive it.[x]

Fierce and pitiless, Ziska carried fire and sword in all directions—massacring clergy and monks, burning and demolishing churches and convents.[y] However over-matched in numbers by his enemies, and although obliged to form his armies out of unpromising materials, he was never defeated in battle;[z] and after he had been reduced to utter blindness, in March 1421, he still continued to direct the operations of war with the same skill and success as before.[a] Yet, although Ziska was animated by a fury which may remind us of the early warriors of Islam, and which might seem possible only for the most exalted fanaticism, it is said that in opinions he rather agreed with the Prague party than with the more extravagant sectaries; that he may be regarded as faithfully representing the principles of Hus himself, apart from the developments which these had undergone among the martyr's followers.[b]

[u] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Bohem. c. 47; Herm. Corner, 1269; Byzyn. 172; Lenf. i. 236; Palacky, III. ii. 67, 368-9.

[x] Schmidt, iv. 153.

[y] Theob. 96; Palacky, III. ii. 361.

[z] Ib. 364-5.

[a] A splinter which had been knocked off a tree by a cannon-ball destroyed the sight of his second eye. Theob. 52; cf. Palacky, III. ii. 249, 273.

[b] Lenf. i. 238-9; Palacky, III. ii. 230, 293-6.

Among the more advanced Hussites, apocalyptic ideas were zealously spread. It was said that the persecution of the faithful showed the nearness of the second advent; that the ungodly were to be consumed by the seven last plagues; that safety was to be attained only by "fleeing to the mountains"; that with the exception of five towns, which were pointed out as places of refuge, all cities—including Prague itself—were to be destroyed, like Sodom and Gomorrah, by fire from heaven: and in consequence of such teaching multitudes flocked from all parts of Bohemia and Moravia to the cities of refuge, selling their all for such prices as could be got, and laying the money at the feet of the clergy. A community of goods was established, and it was taught that the Saviour would speedily come to set up his kingdom on earth—a new state of paradise, in which his subjects would be free from pain and from all bodily necessities, and would need no sacraments for their sanctification.[c]

The reforming movement of Bohemia had drawn thither persons from other countries whose opinions were obnoxious to the authorities of the church.[d] Among these, the most remarkable were known by the name of *Picards*,—apparently a form of the word *beghards*, which, as we have seen, was then widely applied to sectaries. These Picards appear to have come from the Low Countries,[e] and to have been akin in opinions to the sect of the "Free Spirit."[f] They declared the eucharistic elements to be mere bread and wine, and on this account

[c] Byzyn. 155-6, 203, seqq.; Schmidt, iv. 152; Giesel. II. iv. 436-8; Palacky, II. ii. 80-1, 92.

[d] Giesel. II. iv. 432. One Bremer, a master of arts of Prague, was burnt in 1420 by Gunther, archbishop of Magdeburg, for very strange opinions, which seem to have grown out of Hussitism. The last article is, "Totus mundus errat, demto Jacobo Bremer." Herm. Corner, 1238-40.

[e] Palacky, III. ii. 228. Some connect the name with Picardy, or speak of an imaginary Picardus as a leader. See, *e. g.*, Theobald. 93.

[f] Mosh. iii. 71; Schröckh, xxxiv. 694. There has been much difference of opinion about them. See Lenfant and Beausobre in Lenfant's 'Hist. du Conc. de Basle'; Bayle, art. *Picards*, etc.

were expelled from the Bohemian capital.[g] Some of them, through fasting immoderately in the hope of seeing visions, went mad.[h] Those who carried their extravagances furthest were styled Adamites, from maintaining that the use of clothes was a slavery.[i] They are said to have affirmed that everything is holy so long as it is held in common, and to have extended this principle to women;[k] to have asserted the lawfulness of incest; to have renounced all books and all law; and to have believed that the Spirit within them would preserve them from dying. These fanatics got possession of an island in a river, and spread terror far around by their ravages and bloodshed, until Ziska attacked them, overcame them after a furious defence, and burnt all whom he was able to seize, with the exception of one, who was reserved that he might give information as to the sect.[l] Oct. 21, 1421.

Greatly as the Bohemians differed among themselves, and bloodily as they carried out their quarrels, the various sections were all united for common defence. In the same spirit which led them to give to their parties the names of Taborites and Horebites,[m] they spoke of Bohemia as the promised land, of the Germans and other enemies as Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, and the like;[n] and all rose together in resistance to those who had included them all in the common reproach of heresy.[o]

The university of Prague had been consulted by

[g] Giesel. II. iv. 437-8; Palacky, III. ii. 228.

[h] Ib. 229.

[i] Æn. Sylv. c. 41.

[k] Theob. 93; Schröckh, xxxiv. 691; Palacky, III. ii. 238-9; Giesel. II. iv. 438.

[l] Æn. Sylv. c. 41; Theobald. 93-5, 102, 105; Palacky, III. ii. 236, 240. Ziska burnt at once fifty Picards, who leaped laughing into the flames, saying that they were going to "sup with Christ." Ib. 230.

[m] See Æn. Sylv. c. 43. After a time the Horebites broke up, the nobles joining the Prague party, while the poorer people attached themselves to the Taborites. Palacky, III. ii. 383.

[n] Æn. Sylv. c. 47; Theobald. 117.

[o] Lenf. i. 240; Giesel. II. iv. 439; Palacky, III. ii. 57.

Nicolas of Hussinecz as to the lawfulness of a resort to arms—not from any scruples of his own, but for the satisfaction of his followers, who professed a rigid adherence to Scripture; and the answer was, that, although it would be wrong to enforce the truth by the sword, yet in case of extremity the sword might lawfully be employed for the defence of the true religion.[p]

The war of Bohemia was carried on with an atrocity which has probably never been equalled. On the taking of a town all the inhabitants were slain, with perhaps the exception of a few women and children. Churches were burnt, with those who had taken refuge in them.[q] The churches and convents, which Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini describes as more numerous, more magnificent, and more highly adorned than those of any other European country,[r] were demolished, so that, with the exception of the incomplete cathedral in the Hradschin at Prague, no specimen of the ancient splendour now remains. Ziska professed to destroy all churches which bore the names of saints, on the ground that they ought to be dedicated to God alone.[s] He is said to have reduced to ruin more than 500 churches and monasteries;[t] and with the buildings perished their precious ornaments, which were regarded as instruments of idolatry.[u] By

[p] Palacky, III. ii. 64-5.

[q] Ib. 205, 208.

[r] "Nullum ergo regnum ætate nostra in tota Europa tam frequentibus, tam augustis, tam ornatis templis ditatum fuisse quam Bohemicum reor. Templa in cœlum erecta, longitudine atque amplitudine mirabili, fornicibus tegebantur lapideis; altaria in sublimi posita, auro et argento, quo sanctorum reliquiæ tegebantur, onusta; sacerdotum vestes margaritis tectæ, ornatus omnis dives, preciosissima supellex, fenestræ altæ atque amplissimæ, conspicuo vitro et admirabili opere, ut lucem præbeant. Neque hoc tantum in oppidis atque urbibus, sed in villis quoque admirari licebat." Hist. Boh. c. 36.

[s] Ib. 42.

[t] Theobald. 71; Lenf. i. 34.

[u] Palacky, III. ii. 47. See Steph. Dolan. in Pez, IV. ii. 517. For the outrages done to images, see Joh. de Ragusio, 82:—"Viderunt siquidem alibi caput imaginis Domini nostri J. C. crucifixi amputatum, alibi gloriosæ Matris oculos erutos, alibi nasum truncatum, alibi manus abscissas," etc. Cf. Byzyn. 200; Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2155.

these acts of fanatical barbarism the Taborites not only vexed their enemies, but practically enforced their principle that for true believers no material buildings for worship were necessary; that the use of such buildings was superstitious, inasmuch as every believer ought to carry God's living law in his own breast. Nor was the destroying rage of the Hussites confined to things which might be regarded as superstitious: thus, we are told that, on the taking of Rabic by Ziska, treasures which had been placed there with a view to safety were burnt, with the captive monks and clergy, while nothing but arms, horses, and money was exempted from the flames.[x] On both sides excessive cruelty was displayed, not only towards prisoners taken in war, but towards others. Ziska was in the habit of burning priests and monks in pitch,[y] and after his death this and other barbarities continued to be practised by his partisans.[z] Nor were the catholics slow to emulate the ferocity of their opponents; and to this they sometimes—on the principle that no faith was due to heretics—added a treachery from which the Hussites were free. Thus, when some Taborites surrendered at Chatebor, on the assurance that their lives should be spared, the promise was shamelessly set aside.[a] Sigismund caused a merchant of Prague to be dragged at the heels of horses, and afterwards burnt, for speaking disrespectfully of the council of Constance and maintaining the necessity of communion in both kinds;[b] and many other cruelties are recorded against him.[c] The men of Kuttenberg, then the second city of the king-

[x] Palacky, III. ii. 100.

[y] *E.g.*, J. Nider, quoted by Rayn. 1423. 20; Theobald. 85; Palacky, III. ii. 170.

[z] Ib. 385-7. They used to cut out the tongues, and to cut off the hands, fingers, noses, and ears of the clergy. Joh. Segov. in Monum. Concil. Basil. ii. 4.

[a] Palacky, III. ii. 199.

[b] Ib. 91; Byzyn. 158.

[c] Ulric of Rosenberg, in defending himself against a charge of lack of zeal, tells Sigismund, in 1426, that he cannot hang Hussites publicly, as in former times, but that he puts to death by drowning, or by torture, such as can be privately caught. Ib. 405.

dom, who were mostly Germans, employed in mining, and violent in their zeal for the church, offered a reward for all Hussites who should be put into their hands—one florin for a layman and five for a priest. In consequence of this, the Hussites were hunted and entrapped like beasts; and it is said that 1600 of them were put to death at Kuttenberg, either by burning, beheading, or being cast into the depths of mines.[d]

In addition to the ecclesiastical buildings, castles, palaces, even whole towns, were destroyed. By the ravages of contending hosts, and by the neglect of tillage, the country was reduced to a desert.[e] Manufactures and foreign commerce were annihilated. The manners and habits of the people became ruder and less civilized than before.[f] On both sides the lust of spoil gradually mixed with the religious purposes with which the war had been undertaken;[g] and by the enlistment of foreigners—Poles, Prussians, and others, including even Germans—in the Taborite forces, the character of "God's warriors," on which Ziska had insisted, became lost.[h]

On the 1st of March 1420, pope Martin, at the emperor's request, issued a bull, *Omnium plasmatoris Domini*, summoning the faithful to rise for the extirpation of Wyclifism, Hussitism, and other heresies, and promising full indulgences to those who should take part in the enterprise either personally or by substitute.[i] Sigismund, after a great diet at Breslau, collected an army, which is estimated at from 100,000 to 150,000 men,[k] not only from every part of Germany, but from all other European countries except Italy and Scandinavia.[l] The Bohemians

[d] Docum. No. 102; Theobald. 75 Palacky, III. ii. 74-5, 198.

[e] Herm. Corner in Eccard, ii. 1267; Joh. de Ragus. 82.

[f] Ib.; Palacky, III. ii. 500.

[g] See as to the catholics, Trithem. Chron. Sponh. A.D. 1422.

[h] Palacky, III. ii. 500

[i] Eberh. Windeck, in Mencken, i. 1135; Palacky, III. ii. 90.

[k] Ib. 123; Lenf. i. 154.

[l] Byzyn. 166-8; Palacky, III. ii. 109, 123. There were, however, two famous Italians in it—B. della Scala and George Valperga.

flew together for mutual defence; oaths were taken that they would spend their property and their blood to the utmost for the principle of utraquism, and fierce language was uttered against the Roman church.[m] At midsummer, the crusading host invaded the land, but proved unequal to cope with the exasperated zeal of the people in behalf of their country and their religion, and with the genius of Ziska, who on the 14th of July defeated the invaders with great slaughter on a hill near Prague, which still bears his name.[n] Sigismund, although he was crowned as king of Bohemia by archbishop Conrad in the Hradschin, found himself unable to gain possession of that part of his capital which lies on the other side of the Moldau,[o] and withdrew from the country, leaving behind him a strong feeling of hatred in the hearts of the Bohemians, while his German allies regarded him as a favourer of heresy for having entered into negotiations with the Bohemian nobles. On the 31st of October, the great fortress of the Wissehrad, which included within its walls a palace and a monastery, was surrendered to the Hussites; and its splendid buildings, with the precious contents, accumulated during several centuries, were ruthlessly destroyed.[p] July 28.

The moderate party among the Hussites, which was represented by the magistrates and the great mass of the citizens of the capital, drew up in July 1420 a document, which was the result of many conferences, and is known as the Four Articles of Prague. The substance of these articles was: (1) that the word of God should be freely preached; (2) that the holy eucharist should be administered in both kinds to all faithful Christians; (3) that the clergy should be deprived of their secular lordship and

[m] Palacky, III. ii. 93-4.

[n] Ib. 122, 125, 131-3; Byzyn. 171-4.

[o] Rayn. t. viii. 520.

[p] Palacky, III. ii. 145, 147-8, 157-67; E. Windeck, in Mencken, i. 1138; Byzyn. 182; Schmidt, iv. 156.

temporalities, as being contrary to Christ's law, hurtful to them in their duty, and detrimental to the secular power; (4) that all deadly sins, especially those of a public kind, and other disorders—including not only the recognised breaches of morality, but the exaction of fees by the clergy—should be forbidden and extirpated by those to whom it belongs.

But, wide as was the difference between these articles and the system of the Roman church, they were far from satisfying the Taborites, who proposed twelve additional articles as terms of union, requiring among other things a more rigorous moral discipline, the confiscation of church-property for the common benefit, the establishment of the divine law as the only rule of government and justice, the destruction of "heretical" monasteries and superfluous churches, with altars, images, rich vestments, church plate, "and the whole idolatrous plantation of Antichrist."[r] Aug. 1424.

After a time, a compromise between the parties was effected by the English preacher Peter Payne, who had been received among the masters of the university, and had acquired much influence in Bohemia.[s] Sigismund was brought to tolerate the articles of Prague until the matter should be more formally determined.[t] Conrad,

[q] Byzyn. 175-81; Cochl. 199; Giesel. II. iv. 431; Palacky, III. ii. 135, seqq.

[r] Byzyn. 182-4; Giesel. II. iv. 436.

[s] Palacky, III. ii. 217.

[t] Ib. 184-5. As to Payne, see Book VIII. c. vi.; Wood, Hist Oxf. 1, 585. In Bp. Bekynton's Correspondence (Chron. and Mem.) are two letters from Henry VI. about Payne. In the first (137) the king thanks the lord of Rabenstein for keeping him a prisoner, and for offering to send him to England. In the second (138) he suggests to pope Eugenius that, as this "hæresiarcha improbissimus et damnatissimus . . . qui inter viventes omnes et fidei et ecclesiæ orthodoxæ fuit et est bestia crudelior et capitalior inimicus," etc., cannot well be conveyed to England on account of dangers on the way, and especially of the "idol of Basel," the pope should cause him to be brought before the council of Florence. Dr. Pauli (v. 240) quotes from the 'Chronicle of London (ed. Nicolas, 1827), A.D. 1434: "The Lollards of Prage were distroyed . . . and there was taken onlyve Maister Piers clerke of Engeland, and an Englyssh heretyk, and enemy to all holy chirche."

archbishop of Prague, accepted the articles,[u] and while for this he was anathematized by the pope, and the canons of his cathedral renounced obedience to him, on the other hand the revenues of the see were secularized, agreeably to the third article, and utraquists were put into all ecclesiastical dignities.[x]

For a time Prague was under a theocratic republican government, in which the greatest authority was wielded by a priest named John of Selau, who had formerly been a Premonstratensian monk.[y] This John, in sermons which were eagerly heard by excited multitudes, declared Sigismund to be the great red dragon of the Apocalypse;[z] and all the emperor's attempts to conciliate his Bohemian subjects—his apologies and explanations as to the past, his offers of concession—were received with scorn and derision.[a] A second and a third time Sigismund invaded the country at the head of vast forces—in one case, it is said, of as many as 200,000 men; but each time the invaders recoiled in confusion and disgrace before the invincible Ziska.[b] A.D 1421.

In the meantime many of the nobles, disgusted by the democratic and fanatical excesses of the Hussite parties, returned to the obedience of the emperor and of the pope;[c] and there were negotiations with Poland and with Lithuania, which led to an attempt by a Lithuanian prince, Sigismund Corybut, to establish himself as king of Bohemia.[d] In consequence of a change of the popular feeling, John of Selau was A.D. 1422.

[u] Rayn. 1426. 11, seqq.; Palacky, III. ii. 218.

[x] Ib. 218-19, 400. Conrad died in 1426. Schröckh, xxxiv. 396.

[y] Lenf. i. 174; Palacky, III. ii. 180, 183, 255, 262. Æneas Sylvius styles him "impius et ad omne scelus audax." Hist. Bohem. c. 36.

[z] Byzyn. 160; Theob. 76.

[a] Ib. 48; Lenf. i. 185; Palacky, III. ii. 224.

[b] Ib. iii. 24, 41, 250-4, 316.

[c] Cochl. 269; Palacky, III. iii. 262, 298.

[d] Ib. ii 153, 255-6, 303-27; Lenf. i. 180-1, 212. Corybut, who was excommunicated by the pope (Rayn. 1424. 9, 1425. 13), again appeared in Bohemia in 1426-7. (Lenf. i. 261; Palacky, III. iii. 426, 452-3.)

beheaded in March 1422,[e] and on this removal of the link by which the party of Prague had been connected with the Taborites, the old hostilities of these parties broke out with a violence which was the greater because for the time no foreign enemy was to be feared.[f] The quarrel of aristocracy and democracy was now mixed up with their religious enmities. On the 8th of August 1423, Ziska inflicted a crushing defeat on the men of Prague;[g] and he would probably have punished their opposition by the destruction of their city, but for the remonstrances of some of his chief associates, and the entreaties of a deputation headed by John Rokyczana, an ecclesiastic of great eloquence and ability, who played an important part in the later history.[h] Within a month after this, on the 11th of October 1424, Ziska died of a pestilence which was raging in Bohemia. The last year of his life had also been the fullest of violence and bloodshed;[i] but immediately before his death he had been engaged in negotiations with the emperor.[k]

Sept. 14, 1424.

The loss of the great commander who had taught his countrymen the art of war, and had always led them to victory, was deeply felt. A large portion of his followers (towards whom his behaviour had commonly been marked by a kindly familiarity, which strongly contrasted with his ruthless ferocity to his enemies) took the name of Orphans, as if in Ziska they had lost a father who could

[e] Æn. Sylv. c. 44; Theob. 107. There is a curious narrative by one of his friends, quoted by Palacky, III. ii. 279, seqq.

[f] Lenf. i. 223; Palacky, III. ii. 290-3, 317, 331-2.

[g] Ib. 337.

[h] Lenf. i. 227; Palacky, III. iii. 356.

[i] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 14, p. 113; Palacky, III. ii. 357-8. Æneas Sylvius tells (although only as a report) that Ziska, when dying, desired that his skin might be used to cover a drum, assuring his followers that the sound of it would give them victory (Hist. Boh. c. 46; Ep. i. 130, p. 661; Comment. l. iii. p. 467). Albert Krantz adds that the promise was fulfilled: "Ita permittente Deo regnat diabolus in membris suis" (Wandalia, 253). But the story is generally supposed to be fabulous. Theobald. 118; Lenf. i. 231.

[k] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 46.

never be replaced.[1] As to principles, this section took up a middle position between the extreme parties, adhering to the doctrine of transubstantiation and the use of vestments and ceremonies, while they rejected the Roman church and hierarchy.[m]

But within no long time two other leaders became conspicuous among the Hussites—the great and the little Procopius.[n] It is said that the former of these had been recommended by Ziska as his successor; and he was accepted by the Taborites, while the lesser Procopius was at the head of the orphans.[o] The great Procopius was also designated as the Shaven, from the circumstance that he had unwillingly entered the priesthood at the instance of an uncle, to whom he had been indebted for education and for the means of travelling widely.[p] Although he had married, he still continued to perform priestly ministrations; and, while zealously discharging the functions of a general, he did not himself engage in fight, or carry offensive weapons.[q] Procopius was distinguished from the other Taborite leaders by mental culture and a love of learning. He had at one time been suspected of an inclination to the extravagances of the Picards; and, although his opinions had more lately been in some degree mitigated, they were even now more remote from the Roman system than those of Ziska, while Procopius was less fanatical and intolerant, and was guided in a greater degree by political prudence, than the earlier leader.[r] A.D. 1426.

By the death of Ziska, the Prague party gained strength. Some of the older excesses, such as the

[1] Krantz, however, gives another interpretation: "Sic enim gaudebant vocari, quod sine patre essent principe, sine matre ecclesia, quam illi contempsere." (Wandalia, 259.) Rinaldi borrows this. 1429. 16.

[m] Palacky, IV. i. 452.

[n] See Ib., III. ii. 382.

[o] Theob. 117.

[p] Æn. Sylv. c. 44, p. 113; Theob. 110; Palacky, III. iii. 407.

[q] See his protestation at Basel, Joh. Segov. iv. 22; Palacky, III. ii. 409.

[r] Ib. 407; iii. 11.

destruction of churches, were blamed; the more extravagant opinions were discountenanced; and it even seemed as if a reconciliation with the Roman church might be effected. But the more advanced Hussites refused to consent to articles which favoured transubstantiation, prayers for the dead, purgatory, and the ecclesiastical ceremonies, with other such points of doctrine and practice;[s] and the conferences which had been opened with a view to union ended in divisions wider than before.[t] On this occasion Peter Payne, taking offence at some calixtine articles which asserted the presence of the Lord's body in the eucharist, joined the Orphans, from whom he afterwards passed to the Taborites.[u]

Notwithstanding their violent differences among themselves, the Bohemians continued to be successful against external enemies. After having defeated a German force at Aussig in 1426, with a slaughter which is estimated at from 9000 to 15,000 men, while the Bohemians lost only fifty, they advanced as far as Magdeburg, and, following the example which had been given by Ziska, they often invaded the neighbouring countries on all sides.[x] In these outbreaks, to which they were partly urged by the necessities which arose out of the desolation of their own land, they everywhere committed extraordinary acts of cruelty and wanton devastation.[y]

June 16, 1426.

In February 1427, Martin gave the commission of legate for Bohemia, Germany, and Hungary, to cardinal

[s] Palacky, III. ii. 373, 377, 422-3.

[t] Ib. 377; Lenf. i. 259.

[u] Palacky, III. ii. 428. Cochlæus thus compares Wycht and Payne: "Lacum quem ille fodit, iste patenter aperuit; et ea quæ Wicleph obscure posuit, iste explanavit; et quæ ille refusis verborum sententiis protulit, iste brevitatis propositionum compendiis summavit." 231.

[x] See Æn. Sylv. p. 113; Schmidt, iv. 157; Palacky, III. ii. 415-16.

[y] Herm. Corner, 1275, 1295-6, 1317; Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2158; Krantz, Wandalia, 259, 261; Lenf. i. 306-8, 310, 312-13, etc.; Palacky, III ii. 410, 417, 431-4, 460, 489, 505, etc.

Beaufort,[z] who at that time was not unwilling to withdraw for a season from the political contests of England.[a] Preparations were made for a crusade on a very great scale. Throughout the empire a tax was raised for the suppression of Hussitism.[b] Four large armies, amounting (it is said) to 200,000 in all,[c] were to enter Bohemia from different quarters at midsummer. Strict rules of discipline, befitting the religious nature of the enterprise, were laid down; all gaming and other such irregularities were forbidden; every soldier was bound to frequent confession and communion;[d] and in their manner of warfare the crusaders were to adopt something of the system which the genius of Ziska had taught his countrymen. Although the various parties of Bohemians united for the common cause, it is said that the force which they were able to oppose to this vast host amounted only to 15,000 horse and 16,000 foot;[e] but the great enterprise speedily ended in disgraceful failure. At Mies, the Germans, on coming in sight of the enemy, were seized with a panic; and the cardinal, as he was advancing, met his troops fleeing in abject terror. It was in vain that, with the crucifix in his hand, he entreated them, by the most solemn considerations of religion, to rally.[f] He himself

[z] Æn. Sylv. c. 48; Lenf. i. 283; Palacky, III. ii. 438; Rayn. 1426. 26; 1427. 1-2; Lingard, iv. 64.

[a] Pauli, v. 218.

[b] Palacky, III. ii. 441.

[c] Theob. 125; Palacky, III. ii. 440-2. The crusade was talked of in the Canterbury convocation of 1428 (Wilk. iii. 493, seqq.), but the papal demand of a tenth for the purpose was ignored, and all that he got was the publication of a bull for voluntary service or contributions (Williams, Introd. to Bekynton, xciv. seqq.). Chichele defends himself in a letter to the pope against a charge of opposing the proposed subsidy (Bekynton, 255). For documents, see Wilk. iii. 491; Harzheim, v. 229, seqq.; Fascic. Rer. Expet. et Fug. ii. 620. Among the charges brought against a chaplain named Ralph Mungyn before the convocation of 1428, one was that he had denied the lawfulness of taking arms against the Bohemians. Wilk. iii. 501-2.

[d] Eb. Windeck. in Mencken, i. 1192, seqq.

[e] Palacky, III. ii. 445 (who, however, thinks that these numbers are probably too low).

[f] As he had been partly educated at Aix-la-Chapelle (Foss, iv. 286), it may be presumed that he was able to address the Germans in their own language.

was reluctantly carried away with the multitude, and in this scandalous flight the Germans lost 10,000 men, besides the loss of many more, who, in their retreat, were pursued and slain by the peasantry.[g]

In 1428 and the following year, fresh expeditions were projected and heavy taxation was imposed, which, in some parts of Germany, excited discontent and open resistance.[h] Attempts were also made to come to an agreement by means of conferences;[i] but, although Sigismund professed to be tired of the weight of empire, and willing to content himself with his original kingdom of Hungary,[k] the Bohemians had acquired such confidence from their successes, that they insisted on terms which he was unable to yield.[l] And the internal divisions of the Hussites continued. A divine named John of Przibram violently assailed the doctrines of Wyclif,[m] and did not spare even Hus;[n] while Payne strongly opposed

[g] Æn. Sylv. c. 48; Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2154; Lenf. i 285; Theob. 126, Palacky, III. ii. 445-7.

[h] Annal. Novesienses, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 600; Palacky, III. ii. 455-6, 466. See Rayn. 1427. 9, 1428. 5; Wilkins, iii. 511.

[i] Palacky, III. ii. 459-60, etc.

[k] Ib. 470-4, 477-8, 504.

[l] Ib. 479.

[m] Przibram usually styles Wyclif "master of heretics." See his tract, "De Professione Fidei Catholicæ," at the end of Cochlæus, pp. 512-13, 539-43, etc. As to his party, see Palacky, IV. i, 438, seqq.

[n] "Prætensum evangelistam eorum" (519). He professes to approve the opinions of Hus and Mathias, "de tanto, et non plus, de quanto ipsa probantur a Deo et ecclesia Catholica, et de quanto ipsa a veritate Catholica, et a sanctis ecclesiæ doctoribus, et ab ecclesia Catholica prorsus non dissonant nec discordant" (540). He is for the administration of the eucharist in both kinds, "salva semper subjectione, reverentia, et obedientia sanctæ ecclesiæ Catholicæ et Romanæ, in omnibus licitis et honestis" (510); but he will not condemn those who are for one kind only (511, 525). The description of a Taborite priest (which seems to be given as a quotation) is curious:—"Sacerdos Thaborensis est, qui in facie quidem pius et mansuetus, sed interius impius et tyrannus; exterius innocens et purus, sed interius a cruore fœtidus et squalidus; exterius submissus, sed interius super omnes erectus, qui nemini subesse patitur, præesse cunctis molitur; præsumit se meliorem, quod non credit se superbiorem; de omnibus se intromittit, a sapientioribus vultum avertit; reordinat ordinata, reficit facta; quicquid ipse non fecit aut non ordinavit, nec recte factum nec pulchre æstimat ordinatum judicat judicantes, præjudicat judicatis, infrenis, inflexibilis, præceps et audax, in omnia divina temerarius, et in sancta singula impius et prophanus" (pp. 516-17). On the other hand, Przibram strongly declares the necessity of re-

him,[o] and Rokyczana took a middle part, adhering to the doctrine of transubstantiation, but in other things generally agreeing with Payne.[p]

The cardinal of Winchester was withdrawn from Bohemian affairs in consequence of the change produced in the relations of France and England by the appearance of the Maid of Orleans; and the force which he had raised for the Hussite war was employed against the French.[q] But the pope was still bent on the suppression of Hussitism, and in January 1431 despatched as his legate Julian Cesarini, who had lately been created cardinal of St. Angelo.[r] Julian was a Roman, of a family whose poverty is more certain than its nobility.[s] He

form. He complains of simony as everywhere prevailing; of trafficking in the sacraments, etc. :—"Fornicationes impudentissimæ et immundiciæ ubique putridissimæ, et putrefactiones abominabilissimæ; concubinatus pollutissimi, mores dissolutissimi, gestus et habitus actus corruptissimi, supermultiplicata ubique in clero meretricia, quibus heu corrupta squalet universa terra, et insanit in omni immundicia, tanquam a muliere illa Babylonica omni abominatione prophanissima. Et similia facit mala Luciferina cleri superbia, quæ effertur super Deum . . . . Similiter abundans opulentia et opulenta abundantia . . . . Simile faciunt lauta ejus et assidua convivia . . . . litigiositas malignissima . . . . curiositas vanissima, vestimentorum pompa indecentissima, conversatio sæcularissima, et admixtio sæcularitatis confusissima," etc. P. 545.

[o] Przibram reprobates Payne, 543.

[p] Cochl. 224; Lenf. i. 297; Palacky, III. ii. 485-6; Oswald de Joh. Rokyczana, Altdorf. Noric. 1718, p. 8. Rokyczana, who was son of a blacksmith, and in early life had been so poor that he is said to have begged (Æn. Syiv. c. 45), is first mentioned in in 1424 (Ib. 7; see above, p. 32). Palacky says that he did not originate any opinions, but took up those of Jacobellus, and advocated them with ability (IV. i. 444-5). Jacobellus died Aug. 9, 1429. (Lenf. i. 309.)

[q] Lingard, iv. 67: Pauli, v. 232; Palacky, III. ii. 480-1; Milman, vi. 77. Martin's letters remonstrating against this, and clearing himself to the French king, are in Rayn. 1429. 16-17. There is a letter in the name of Joan Darc, denouncing God's vengeance on the Bohemians if they do not speedily return to the church. See Martin, vi. 190.

[r] Herm. Corner, 1297: Life of Julian, in Ughelli, iii. 671, seqq.; Theob. 138.

[s] Chacon speaks of him as "familiæ splendore illustris" (ii. 861), and Mr. Jenkins, in his Life of Julian, takes the same view. Vespasian, of Florence, however, who was well acquainted with the cardinal, says, "Fu figliuolo d'un povero uomo," and speaks of the severe struggles which he had to make for the means of education, but gives no hint of a noble pedigree (Mai, Spicil. i. 166). Litta cautiously says, "Nato da genitori *forse* distinti, ma poveri." 'Famiglie Illustri,' art. *Cesarini*.

had risen to eminence by his merits, was esteemed for ability, morals, and learning, and, from having been in Bohemia, in attendance on a former legate, Branda of Castiglione, was supposed to have special qualifications for the office.[t] A bull was drawn up, authorizing a new crusade, and bestowing extraordinary powers on him;[u] but before the bearer, cardinal John of Olmütz (formerly bishop of Leitomysl[x]) arrived at Nuremberg, tidings were received there that Martin had died on the 20th of February.[y]

CHAPTER II.

EUGENIUS IV.—THE COUNCILS OF BASEL AND FLORENCE.

A.D. 1431-1447.

Immediately after the death of Martin, the feeling of the cardinals towards him, which had been suppressed during his lifetime, began to show itself in a significant form. The first day of the conclave, which met in the church of St. Mary *sopra Minerva*, was spent in drawing up certain terms to which the future pope was to bind himself by oath, and which he was to confirm by a special bull after his election. By this compact every cardinal promised, in case of his being chosen pope, to reform the court in head and members, and to undertake such reformation whenever he should be required by the cardinals; not to remove

March 2.

[t] A.D. 1421. See Rayn. 1421. 6, seqq.; Æn. Sylv. c. 48; Jenkins, Life of Cardinal Julian, 63. He had also been employed in England in order to obtain the abolition of the *præmunire* statutes. Wilk. iii. 479, seqq.

[u] Cochl. 236.

[x] See Rayn. 1426. 26; Ciacon. ii. 846.

[y] Palacky, III. ii. 519.

the seat of the papacy from Rome, except with the consent of the cardinals; to celebrate a general council at the place and time which the cardinals should recommend, and in it to reform the whole church, including the monastic and military orders, in faith, life, and morals; to make no cardinals except according to the rules of the council of Constance, unless a majority of the college should judge otherwise; to admit freely the advice of the cardinals, to respect their privileges, to preserve the rights of the Roman church, and in his letters to name those cardinals who had counselled him, as had been the practice until the time of Boniface VIII.[a]

Although under the late pope the Italians had regained their old predominance in the college—which now, in defiance of the reforms of Constance,[b] consisted of eleven or twelve Italian cardinals, and only eight of all other nations[c]—a French and a Spanish bishop were put forward as the most likely to be chosen; but, by one of those unexpected turns which have often decided the result of elections to the papacy, the choice fell on Gabriel Condolmieri, cardinal of St. Clement, who took the name of Eugenius IV.[d] The new pope was a Venetian, a nephew of Gregory XII., and had attained the age of forty-eight.[e] He had distinguished himself in early life by giving at once twenty thousand ducats to the poor, and by entering, with his cousin Antony Corario, a society of canons which they founded under the title of St. George *in alga*, on one of the islands of Venice.[f] He had been advanced to the dignity of cardinal by his uncle, and under the late

March 3.

[a] This capitulation is embodied in the bull of Eugenius, March 12. Rayn. 1431. 3, seqq.

[b] See Book VIII. c. viii.

[c] Reumont, iii. 75.

[d] Andr. Billius, in Murat. xix. 143; Reumont, III. i. 71-2.

[e] Bayle thinks that the idea of his having been nephew to Gregory has arisen from a confusion with his friend Ant. Corario. Art. *Eugène IV.* note B.

[f] Vespasiano, in Murat. xxv. 255, 259; Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frider. in Kollar, ii. 133.

pope had been employed as legate for the reduction of Bologna.[g] Both his virtues and his faults were chiefly those of a monk. In his own person he was abstinent and severe, although his household expenses were equal to the dignity of his station; he loved and encouraged men of letters, although his own learning was but moderate; he was obstinate, narrow-minded, possessed by an ambition which refused to consider the limits of his power,[h] little scrupulous in the pursuit of his objects, open to flattery, filled with a high idea of the papal greatness, and implacably hostile to all deviation from the established doctrines of the church.[i] Under him the Romans found reason to look back with regret on the prosperous government of Martin;[k] and to his mistaken policy are chiefly to be ascribed the troubles by which the church was agitated throughout his pontificate.

Eugenius had been assisted by the influence of the Orsini, and showed himself hostile to the great rival family of which his predecessor had been a member. He demanded from Martin's nephews, cardinal Prosper Colonna, the prince of Salerno, and the count of Celano, the treasures which the pope had collected for a religious war against the Turks, and he refused to be content when they gave up a part as if it had been the whole. The prince of Salerno surrendered the castle of St. Angelo; but Eugenius was still unsatisfied, and demanded the restoration of other places which Martin had put into the hands of his kindred. The Colonnas, with their allies, gathered a force in the Campagna, assaulted Rome, and penetrated into the heart of the city, where Stephen Colonna fortified himself in his palace. But they did

[g] See p. 2; Platina, 295.

[h] "Nullum in eo magis vitium fuit, nisi quia sine mensura erat, et non quod potuit sed quod voluit, aggressus est." Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. Miscell. i. 339.

[i] See Platina, 307; Sism. vi. 396-8; Ffoulkes, ii. 370.

[k] Poggio, quoted by Reumont, III. i. 76.

not find the expected support among the people. Although for more than a month the prince of Salerno held possession of the Appian gate, they were compelled to retire, and the pope, in alliance with the Orsini, took from them all the strong places which they held in Umbria and the ecclesiastical states.[1] Martin's treasurer was tortured, in the hope of drawing from him information as to concealed wealth. A bull was issued, setting forth the offences of the Colonnas, and ordering that all their possessions should be confiscated; that their houses should be pulled down, and should never be rebuilt; that their arms should be erased from buildings, and that they should for ever be incapable of ecclesiastical or secular office:[m] and this was carried into effect by the destruction of the late pope's palace, and of all monuments of his pontificate.[n] Two hundred Romans of the Colonna party, who had been employed in office under Martin, were put to death on various charges.[o] Joanna of Naples deprived the prince of Salerno of his principality, which was held under the Neapolitan crown; and at length, with aid from Naples, Florence, and Venice, Eugenius reduced the Colonnas to an unreserved submission, and to a surrender of all their fortresses, with so much of pope Martin's wealth as they had until then retained.[p]

Dec. 1431.

The time had now arrived for the meeting of the general council at Basel;[q] but, although men looked anxiously to an assembly which was expected to determine whether

[1] Vita Eug. in Murat. III. ii. 869; Infessura in Eccard, ii. 1875; Andr. Billius in Murat. xix. 144; Platina, 295-6; Æn. Sylv. 168, 768; Flav. Blondus, 458; Rayn. 1431. 19, seqq.; Gregorov. vii. 28-31; Hefele, vii. 430.

[m] Baluz. Miscell. i. 331-3; cf. Murat. III. ii. 872.

[n] Andr. Billius, 145; Sism. vi. 299; Reumont, III. i. 78.

[o] Murat. Ann. IX. i. 186.

[p] Ib. 187; Sism. vi. 299; Fl. Blondus, 159, seqq. It is said that the Colonnas instigated one of the pope's officials to poison him, and that although he escaped with his life, he was crippled on one side. Infessura, in Eccard ii. 1876.

[q] See p. 15.

the papal authority should continue in the fulness which it had attained, or should be reduced within more reasonable bounds, the gathering of the members was slow and gradual. The opening had been announced for the month of March, but the abbot of Vezelay was the only one who had then appeared, and two months later he had been joined by hardly any others, except some representatives of the university of Paris.[r] It seemed as if the council of Basel might have no greater result than that of Siena.[s] The late pope, who disliked and dreaded such meetings, had shown no alacrity to forward it;[t] but he had authorized cardinal Julian Cesarini to preside, and the commission was renewed by Eugenius,[u] who at the same time charged the cardinal to attend to the affairs of Bohemia if he did not find the fathers assembled at Basel.[x] But Julian was more deeply interested in Bohemia than in the council. He begged that he might be excused from presiding at Basel; he wrote to stir up princes, prelates, and others to the holy war;[y] and, while the members of the council were slowly arriving, he zealously preached the Bohemian crusade along the course of the Rhine, and even as far as Liége and Flanders.[z] In the meanwhile he sent two Dominicans—John of Palomar, auditor of the sacred palace, and John of Ragusa,[a] procurator-general of the order, to

[r] Aug. Patric. in Hard. ix. 1083; Joh. Ragus. in Monum. Conc. Basil. i. 68-71; Joh. Segov. ib. ii. 14; Herm. Corner, 1306. [The second volume of the 'Monumenta Conciliorum Generalium Sæculi xv.' (Vindob. 1873), containing the first twelve books of the history of the council of Basel by John of Segovia, one of Felix V.'s cardinals, and the concluding part of Bp. Hefele's 'Conciliengeschichte' (Freiburg, 1874), have appeared so lately that, although I have looked through them, it has been impossible to make use of their contents so thoroughly as I could have wished.—Aug. 1874.]

[s] Giesel. II. iv. 55.

[t] Joh. Ragus. 65-6.

[u] Hard. viii. 1112.

[x] Eug. in Rayn. 1431. 17; Aug. Patric. in Hard. ix. 1083.

[y] See Lenf. i. 337, and Julian's manifesto from Nuremberg, Mar. 21, 1431, in Cochl. 240.

[z] Joh. Ragus. 73; C. Zantfl. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 424; Palacky, III. ii. 531-2.

[a] John Stojkovic, of Ragusa, had

act as his deputies at Basel, and to entreat that the assembled fathers would await the issue of affairs in Bohemia; and by these commissioners the council was opened on the 23rd of July.[b] At the same time Julian and others were active in endeavouring by urgent letters to procure a fuller attendance at Basel.

The danger with which the Bohemians were again threatened became, as in former instances, the means of uniting their factions. All were animated by a common zeal to withstand the invaders of their native land. Those who were engaged in expeditions into the neighbouring countries were recalled, and Procopius the Great was for a time invested with an almost absolute authority.[c]

A diet was held at Eger in May, under the presidency of Sigismund. Some representatives of the Bohemians appeared, and endeavoured by negotiation to avert the threatened crusade; but the emperor was persuaded by John of Ragusa and others, who had been sent to him by cardinal Julian, to refuse all further treaty with them, unless on condition that they should submit in all their opinions to the determination of the church and the general council.[d] To their request that they might be heard at Basel, Sigismund replied that this would interfere with the council's freedom; whereupon the Bohemians put forth an indignant letter, addressed to kings, princes, and Christians of all classes, stating the four articles of Prague as the points on which they insisted, protesting against the emperor's behaviour to them, denouncing the clergy severely, and declaring themselves

formerly been attached to cardinal John of Ragusa, who has been already mentioned (p. 18). His book on the council of Basel is published in the Vienna 'Monumenta.' He held to the council throughout, and was made cardinal of St. Sixtus (the same title which the elder John had held) by the antipope, Felix V. See Palacky's Introduction to the 'Monumenta,' pp. xiii.-xiv.

[b] Hard. viii. 1103; Julian, ap. Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 65; Joh. Ragus. 67, 72, 91; Palacky, III. ii. 521-2.

[c] Ib. ii. 538.

[d] Joh. Ragus. 80.

determined, with the help of the Lord of hosts, to repel any invasion of their country.[e]

July 3. Before resorting to arms cardinal Julian addressed to the Bohemians a letter, in which he declared himself earnestly desirous of their good, and even ready to give his life for them. He denies that the crusading force is intended for the destruction of their country; he sets forth the outrages and excesses which the Bohemians had committed in their own land and in those around it, and tells them that the crusaders are not to be regarded as aggressors, but as having taken arms for the deliverance of the pious, for their defence against the lovers of confusion and anarchy. They offer peace, and if war should follow, the guilt of it will lie on the other party. As to the great mass of the Bohemians, he expresses confidence that they are not in favour of disorder. He ridicules the notion that a few uneducated men—soldiers, artisans, peasants, and the like—could be wiser than the church, or than her multitude of trained preachers, both in past generations and now. The church has received from Christ the promise of the Holy Spirit to lead her into all truth, to protect her and to abide with her for ever; she is ready to receive the Bohemians, like the repentant prodigal; to bring forth the new robe, to kill the fatted calf, to call together the friends and neighbours that they may rejoice over the recovery of the lost.[f]

The Bohemians rejoined in a letter which was mostly, if not wholly, the work of the "great" Procopius.[g] In this letter the articles of Prague are set forth as principles founded on Scripture and held by the ancient church.

[e] Theob. 141 (the date there given, 1443, is of course a mistake). Another version (seemingly) of the same, dated on the eve of St. Mary Magdalene (July 21), 1431, is in Hard. viii. 1646. Theob. 141 (really 143); Palacky, III. ii. 533.

[f] Schröckh, xxxiv. 648; Palacky, III. iii. 11.

To the restoration of these, which had in later ages been suppressed by a corrupt clergy, the Bohemians had devoted themselves for years, and for this cause they had borne labours, insults, expenses, and even the danger of their lives. They profess to refer all questions to Scripture, and to the ancient doctors who are agreeable to Scripture; they protest against force as a means of conversion, and tell the cardinal that St. Peter's manner of visiting Cornelius might have supplied him with an example of a better method.[h]

The crusading army, which ought to have been ready at midsummer, was, as in former expeditions, behind its time. The enterprise was inaugurated with great solemnity in the church of St. Sebald, at Nuremberg; where the emperor, kneeling before the altar, presented his sword to the legate, by whom it was delivered, together with the consecrated banner of the empire, to Frederick, elector of Brandenburg, who had been appointed to the chief command. The whole force is estimated at from 90,000 to 130,000 men, and on the 1st of August it entered Bohemia.[i] But the same ignominious fate which had attended the earlier armaments of the same kind was now more signally repeated. Many of the invaders, scared by the mere sight of the Hussite manner of fighting, were seized with panic and fled at the approach of the Bohemians; and in an engagement near Tauss, the legate, who had ascended a hill in order to see the combat, was compelled to witness the utter rout of his army. By extraordinary efforts he succeeded in rallying a few of them as they were about to plunge into a forest; but it was only that they might be cut to pieces or driven back by the advancing enemy. The troops fled in utter confusion, hurrying the cardinal along with them; while

[h] Theobald. 145-6. Cf. another Bohemian manifesto in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 425; Fascic. Rer. Exp. etc., ii. 632.

[i] Æn. Sylv. c. 43; Schmidt, iv. 161; Palacky, III. ii. 548.

the Hussites pressed on them, and slew great numbers without resistance. The spoil taken was very great; and the Hussites were especially elated by the capture of the legate's silver crucifix, of his bell, the ensigns of his dignity as cardinal, and the papal bull which had given authority for the crusade.[k] Julian himself was in danger from the fury of some of the crusaders, who threw on him the blame of the disaster; and he was obliged for safety to disguise himself as a common soldier in the train of the bishop of Würzburg.[l] The other divisions of the great crusading host fell utterly to pieces.[m]

The Hussites had now attained their greatest height of success and reputation. For twelve years they had not only held their ground against the united efforts of Latin Christendom, but had carried the terror of their arms far into the countries which bordered on Bohemia. Their enthusiastic courage, directed by the genius of Ziska and Procopius, had defeated the most famous generals of the age; and vast armies, collected under the highest religious sanction from almost every nation which acknowledged the spiritual authority of Rome, had fled before them without awaiting their onset.[n] And among the multitudes who openly or secretly rejected that authority, sympathy was widely felt with them. Thus we meet with casual mention of a community (probably Waldensian) among the mountains of Dauphiny which is said to have shared their opinions, and to have raised a tribute for their aid.[o] But from the time of their greatest

[k] These spoils were long preserved at Tauss as memorials of the great victory. Theob. 147.

[l] Æn. Sylv. c. 48; Theob. 147; Andr. Ratisb. 2161; Schmidt, iv. 162; Jenkins, 122; Palacky, III. ii. 544-7.

[m] Ib. 548.

[n] Ib. iii. 1-3.

[o] This was mentioned at the French national assembly of Bourges in 1434, where there was also mention of an anti-hierarchical and democratic movement, which had been suppressed in the region of Mâcon (Hard. viii. 1459). The same community is probably meant in a letter of Paul II. to the archbishop of Lyons, on occasion of G. Podiebrad's excommunication in 1469 (Hard. ix. 1483), and by Sixtus IV. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. ii. 1506-7; cf. Ullmann, 'Reformers before the Reformation,' i. 335.

triumph disunion began to work its mischiefs. The several parties, being no longer banded together against a common enemy, fell asunder, and sought for foreign alliances in order to subdue each other. And this was the effect rather of political than of religious differences. The democratic spirit, which had been strongly developed in connexion with the reforming doctrines—a spirit which had been fostered by John of Selau and by Ziska, and had displayed itself in the disregard of family influence, and of everything but personal merit, in the choice of generals and officers—alienated the higher nobility, and tended to throw them back into the arms of the Roman church.[p]

Cardinal Cesarini, on making his escape from the country which he had so confidently entered, repaired to the emperor at Nuremberg, and complained to him loudly of the German princes as wanting in spirit and enterprise.[q] The legate had now been convinced by experience that negotiation was more hopeful than force as a means of reducing the Hussites; and his observations in Germany had taught him that the cause of the church was lost in that country unless a reform were carried out. He looked to the general council as the instrument of such a reform, and as the best remaining hope of a solution of the Bohemian difficulties; and to it he referred the emperor and the German nobles, who, in indignation at the late behaviour of their princes, urged the undertaking of a new crusade, in which the princes should not be admitted to share, and the leader should be one chosen by themselves for his capacity and experience.[r]

An attempt to introduce Hussitism into Scotland was made by one Paul Crauer, a German, who professed physic in order to disguise his real object. He was convicted before the same inquisitor who had tried Resby (see Book VIII. c. vi., note near the end) many years earlier, and was burnt at St. Andrews, July 23, 1433. D'Argentré, i. 370; Grub, i. 336.

[p] Palacky, III. iii. 8-10.

[q] Lenf. i. 362.

[r] Jul. ad Eugen. in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. i. 55; Joh. Segov. i. 17; Theob. 148; Palacky, III. iii. 13.

On the ninth of September the legate arrived at Basel, where he was received with great solemnity, but found that only three bishops and seven abbots were as yet assembled. In order that the council might become more worthy of its pretensions, he addressed many letters to princes, bishops, and others, urging them to send representatives.[s] And agreeably to the resolution of a congregation of the council, he wrote in its name to the Bohemians, professing great affection for them, exhorting them to peace and unity, and inviting them, with a view to these objects, to appear at Basel, with an assurance that they should have unrestrained liberty of speech, and a full safe-conduct for their stay as well as for their journeys. This letter was sent by the council to the emperor, and by him was forwarded to Bohemia.[t]

Oct. 15.

To Eugenius the idea of inviting to a free conference those who had been condemned as heretics at the councils of Constance and Siena, and who had since appeared in arms against the church, was altogether intolerable; and on the 12th of November he wrote to the legate, desiring him to break up the council of Basel, and to announce another general council, which was to meet at Bologna after an interval of a year and a half.[u] But Cesarini, unwilling that the schemes on which he had set his heart should be ruined through the pope's mistaken action, ventured, instead of obeying, to send a canon of Besançon to report the state of affairs to Eugenius,[x] and addressed to him a long and forcible letter of remonstrance.

[s] Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 28, seqq.; Herm. Corner. 1307; Döllinger, ii. 318. On the 29th of October, Philibert, bishop of Coutances, offered a horse and expenses for a messenger to summon the prelates of Normandy. Joh. Ragus. 124. On Nov. 15, archbishop Chichele wrote to his suffragans, transmitting Julian's invitation, and desiring them to attend or to send representatives. Wilk. iii. 518.

[t] Hard. viii. 1313; Æn. Sylv. c. 49; Joh. Ragus. 113, 135-8.

[u] Rayn. 1431. 31.

[x] Hard. viii. 1576.

After having entreated that the critical position of affairs may excuse his freedom, the legate relates the recent events in Bohemia, so far as he had been concerned in them. He expresses his belief that a conference between the council and some representatives of the Bohemians would be the most hopeful expedient for the pacification of Bohemia; and that such a council is urgently needed as a means of reformation. He speaks of his late experience as having shown him the deep disgust which had been produced in the minds of the German laity by the dissoluteness and disorders of the clergy; so that, unless these would reform themselves, it seemed likely that the laity would attack them in the manner of the Hussites; nay, unless these evils were remedied, the extinction of the Hussite heresy would probably be followed by the rise of some other. If the council should be dissolved, it would appear as if the church were afraid to meet the Hussites, who had been invited to it—as if the clergy were incorrigible, and were mocking God and man; the pope will risk the discredit of his name and incur dangers to his soul. A dissolution would involve political difficulties, which would surely redound to the disadvantage of the clergy. For himself, the legate is resolved to vindicate his honour by placing himself in the hands of the secular nobles. The apprehensions of danger to the pope's power, whether spiritual or temporal, are chimerical; nor is any danger to his temporal power to be put in comparison with the peril to souls. The temper of the assembled fathers is alarming, and suggests the likelihood of a schism if the dissolution be carried through. The pretence of difficulty of access to Basel on account of a war between the dukes of Burgundy and Austria is vain; inasmuch as a truce has been concluded between these

princes.[y] The hope of gaining the Greeks (on which the pope had insisted) is no sufficient reason for risking the loss of Germany. The legate expresses his willingness to be superseded in his office, but earnestly begs that his engagements may be kept, and that the council may be continued—that the pope, as he had acted on insufficient knowledge, would now, after fuller information, revert to the original design.[z]

Without waiting for the papal sanction, the council held its first session on the 14th of December, when mass was said by Philibert, bishop of Coutances.[a] The subjects for discussion were defined as being three—the extinction of heresy; the restoration of peace and unity among Christians; and the reformation of the church.[b] The system of voting by nations, which had been established at Constance, was now set aside,—partly, it would seem, on account of the jealousies which had there arisen between the Spaniards and the English, and partly because the separation of the cardinals, as a body distinct from the nations, had rendered them eager for the pope's authority rather than for the general good of the church.[c] Instead of this arrangement, the council was divided into four "deputations," each composed of members belonging to all degrees of the hierarchy, from patriarchs and cardinals down to monks and secular clergy. These deputations were severally charged with

[y] It appears that John Beaupère, one of the representatives of the university of Paris, who had been sent by Cesarini to the pope, had partly influenced his line of action by exaggerating the difficulties of access, etc. (Hefele, vii. 442.) Eugenius had insisted on this topic, and both Sigismund and the legate had laboured to make peace between the dukes, with a view to the council. See Martene, Coll. Ampl. viii. 40-2; Joh. Ragus. 106, 110.

[z] Æn. Sylv. pp. 64, seqq.; or 'Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug.' i. 54, seqq.

[a] Hard. viii. 1106; Herm. Corn. 1317.

[b] Hard. viii. 1114-15.

[c] Schröckh, xxxii. 34; Milman, vi. 93. The Canterbury convocation in 1433 resolved that the English representatives should advocate the division by nations (Wilk. iii. 522), and instructions were given to them accordingly. Bekynton, ii. 262.

the consideration of—(1) General business; (2) Reformation; (3) The Faith; and (4) Peace. They met thrice a-week, and no subject could be proposed in a general congregation until after it had been discussed in the deputations.[d]

The council was increased considerably in numbers; but of prelates there were comparatively few, nor did the representatives of universities form so important an element as at Constance. Italy had sent but a small number of members; England had as yet sent none.[e] The mass of the council was drawn from the two nations which were nearest to Basel: the French and the Germans.

[d] Hard. viii. 1439-42; Aug. Patric. ib. 1098. See Raumer, Hist. Taschenb. 1849, p. 124. For the rules laid down as to the conduct of members of the council, see Hard. viii. 1443-6; ix. 1100. As to the order of sitting, Joh. Segov. iv. 33; for quarrels between ambassadors on this subject, ib. vi. 36-41.

[e] The council sent the bishop of Lodi to beg that Henry VI. would send ambassadors and prelates, and would make peace with his enemies. He replied that he agreed to send representatives, and would expedite their going. (Hard. viii. 1437; ix. 1091; Rayn. 1432. 7.) The envoys returned in September 1432. (Joh. Segov. iii. 36.) John of Ragusa expresses surprise that, as Henry had greatly pressed the assembling of the council, no English members had appeared when it had already sat three years (65). The arrival of some English representatives about the middle of February 1433, and their entrance into the council on the 2nd of March, are noted by Peter of Saaz (*Zatecensis*), Monum. i. 311, 319; but it appears that, in consequence of some reports unfavourable to the council, the envoys who had been promised through the bishop of Lodi were recalled before reaching Basel (Bekynton, No. 258, June 30, 1433). A fresh deputation from England arrived on the 5th of August, 1434, with a great company of horsemen, including 150 archers, and was received with much honour. (Joh. Segov. viii. 28.) There are many letters relating to the council in Bekynton's correspondence,—among them a commission and instructions for the bishops of London, Rochester, and others, who formed this deputation, May 31, 1434 (Nos. 273-4). There is a letter in the king's name, July 17, 1434, blaming the council for having refused to admit his envoys without the oath, and for its proceedings against the pope. (Martene, Coll. Ampl. viii. 724. See too Hard. viii. 1436, 1514; Wilkins, iii. 519-21.) Archbishop Kemp, of York (afterwards translated to Canterbury), was among the representatives first chosen, but did not appear until 1435. (Hook, v. 218-20; Rayn. 1432. 18.) The English had fierce quarrels with the Spaniards about precedence. (Joh. Segov. ix. 2, 8, 10, 11, 17, 34; x. 12; Letter of the bishop of Parma, quoted by Voigt in Raumer's Taschenb. 1833, p. 63; Fuller, ii. 445.) The French also objected to the assumption of the title of king of France by the English king. Joh. Segov. vii. 28.

Eugenius, alarmed by the opening of communications with the Bohemians, issued, on the 18th of December, and on the 12th of February in the following year, fresh documents for the dissolution of the council, alleging, as before, the difficulties of access to Basel on account of the war between Austria and Burgundy, the state of his own health, which must prevent his attendance, the smallness of the numbers assembled, and the expiration of the seven years which had been fixed as a term at the council of Siena; and again he announced another council, to be held at Bologna.[f] But the council, remembering that the meeting at Siena had been rendered ineffectual through the late pope's contrivances, and inferring from the proceedings of Martin and of Eugenius that the papacy was hostile to such assemblies, resolved to continue its sessions.

A.D. 1432.

On the 5th of June, Cesarini addressed a second letter of remonstrance to the pope. He reports the hopeful state of his negotiations with the Bohemians, who had agreed to send deputies to Basel. He dwells on the immeasurable superiority of spiritual over temporal interests. He speaks of the growing numbers and influence of the council. He rests its legitimacy on the same foundation with the papacies of Martin and Eugenius—the general council of Constance. He exposes the futility of the pretence as to the expiration of the appointed seven years from the time of the last council. He represents the views of persons who deny that the pope had power to dissolve a council, in contradiction to the decree of Constance,[g] and he intimates that he himself agrees in that opinion.[h]

[f] Hard. viii. 1571, 1575-8, 1579, etc.; ix. 1085; Joh. Ragus. 170; Palacky, III. iii. 23.

[g] This decree is known by the name of *Frequens*.

[h] Æn. Sylv. 75-80; Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. i. 63, seqq. The legate's remonstrances are both translated in Canon Jenkins' Life of him.

But although the legate expressed himself thus plainly, he thought it well, out of regard for the papal authority, to resign the presidency of the council, to which Philibert, bishop of Coutances, was elected in his room;[j] and in a synodal letter, addressed to all faithful Christians, the assembled fathers declared their resolution to remain at Basel until the purposes of their meeting should be accomplished.[k]

About this time Sigismund suddenly[l] announced an intention of going to Rome for the purpose of receiving the imperial crown. It would seem that the difficulties, disappointments, and reverses which he had experienced, both in his secular and in his ecclesiastical policy, had suggested the idea of endeavouring by this means to render his authority more venerable in the eyes of men; and perhaps he may have thought more especially that in the general council a crowned emperor would have greater influence than a king of the Romans.[m] But circumstances were greatly changed from the times when earlier emperors had repaired to Rome for coronation. Italy, which had formerly been regarded by the imperialist lawyers as the special domain of the crown, was no longer subject to it except in name; and the necessities by which Sigismund had been cramped throughout his life—necessities chiefly caused by the alienations and other improvident expenses of his predecessors[n]—prevented his appearing with such a force as might have overawed the princes and the republics of Italy.[o] At Milan, where he had been led to expect from the duke, Philip Mary Visconti, not only a welcome, but supplies

[j] Æn. Sylv. Bulla Retractationis, fol. 2; Planck, v. 435.

[k] Hard. viii. 1375 (Jan. 21, 1432).

[l] "Sine voluntate et assensu electorum," says Andrew of Ratisbon, in Eccard. i. 2163.

[m] See Aschbach, iv. 45.

[n] Such as the sacrifice of imperial property, etc., which Charles IV. had made for the election of Wenceslaus. Krantz, 'Saxonia,' 285; 'Wandalia,' 261.

[o] Sism. vi. 291.

of money and a force sufficient to make his authority respected by the Italians, he found himself treated with outward ceremony indeed, but with mortifying coolness and distrust.[p] The duke absented himself from the solemnity of his receiving the iron crown, and altogether avoided a meeting with him.[q] Eugenius, fearing that the title of emperor would render Sigismund more powerful as against the papacy, deferred the Roman coronation under one pretext after another;[r] and for ten months Sigismund fretted in impotent expectation at Siena, where the cost of his maintenance pressed heavily on the citizens.[s] At length he was allowed to go on to Rome, after having sworn by his ambassadors that he would never forsake the interest of Eugenius; and on Whitsunday, 1433, he received the imperial crown in St. Peter's from the hands of the pope.[t] But there was little of splendour in the ceremony,[u] and, as Sigismund was suffering from gout, the pope was obliged to consent

Nov. 25, 1431.

July 1432 – May 1433.

May 31.

[p] Krantz, Saxonia, 296; Sism. vi. 293. For notices of Philip Mary's character, see a Life in Muratori, xx.; Æn. Sylv. de Europa, c. 49; E. Windeck in Mencken, i. 1150; Antonin. 503; Herm. Corner, in Eccard, ii. 1233; Burckhardt, 'Cultur d. Renaissance,' 30.

[q] Schröckh, xxxii. 26.

[r] He had written in favour of the scheme (Rayn. 1431. 31); but it was commonly believed that (perhaps in order to punish Sigismund for his lenity towards the Hussites), the pope would not crown him. Andr. Ratisb. 2163; Herm. Corner, 1316.

[s] Hist. Senens. in Murat. xx. 41; Rayn. 1432. 20-1; Sismondi, vi. 294-5; Aschb. iv. 82, seqq. "Audivi ego sæpius illum dicentem, quum Senis essemus. Ego ulciscar de illo perfidissimo tyranno qui me Senis tamquam belluam collocavit." Bonincontr. in Murat. xxi. 140. L. Valla refers to this expedition in his treatise on the Donation of Constantine—"Quem per Italiam paucis stipatoribus septum, in diem vivere vidimus, Romæ etiam fame periturum, nisi eum, sed non gratis (extorsit enim donationem), Eugenius pavisset." 'Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug.' ii. 193.

[t] Poggio, Hist. Flor. 380; Zantfl. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 433-4; Leon. Aretin. in Baluz. Miscell. iii. 183-5; Infessura in Eccard, ii. 1876-7; Rayn. 1433. 12, seqq.; Palacky, III. iii. 111-13; Aschb. iv. 88, 104, 114. Eberhard of Windeck has a fabulous story that, the crown having been put on unevenly, the pope, as the emperor knelt before him, set it straight with his foot. (Mencken, i. 1245.) See Gregorov. vii. 39.

[u] Gregorov. l. c.

that his mule should be led only three steps by the emperor—a symbol rather than a performance of the traditional homage of Constantine.[x]

After a short stay at Rome, Sigismund set off for his northern dominions, where, in the meanwhile, his subjects had been tending to a state of anarchy.[y] On the 11th of October he reached Basel. He had throughout been earnest for the council, which, after the failure of the crusade, he had regarded as the only means of pacifying Bohemia; he had written to assure it of his support; he had urged on the pope, both by letters and by ambassadors, the expediency of allowing it to continue; and he had requested all Christian princes to aid it by their influence.[z] An assembly of the French clergy at Bourges, under Charles VII., had also taken up the cause of the council, and had petitioned the king to send an embassy to the pope, in order to procure his consent to its continuance.[a] Feb. 26, 1432.

Sigismund, as we have seen, had forwarded the invitation of the council to the Bohemians in October 1431,[b] and he had exerted himself to procure their appearance by deputies at Basel.[c] But much of the distrust caused by the fate of Hus still remained; and, while the Calixtines and even the Orphans were willing to negotiate, the Taborites declared that it would be a folly to submit to

[x] Rayn. 1433. 14; Aschb. iv. 118. Leonard of Arezzo (l. c.) says that the *officium stratoris* was omitted. For Sigismund's edict, comprising those of Frederick II. and Charles IV. on their coronations, see Rayn. 1433. 14. It is commonly said that from this time is to be dated the use of the double-headed eagle as denoting the union of imperial and royal dignity. (Aschb. iv. 119; Reumont, iii. 85. See Æn. Sylv. Vita Friderici III., in Kollar, Analecta, ii. 273.) But, although the eagle on the coins of Frederick II. has but one head, the double-headed eagle is found in a MS. of Matt. Paris, written about 1250, and in a Roll of Arms, not later than 1280. Walford in Archæologia, xxxix. 370; Madden, Pref. to M. Paris, Hist. Min. iii. p. 50.

[y] Palacky, III. iii. 18.

[z] Hard. viii. 1153, 1438, 1545-7, 1606; Rayn. 1431. 26; 1432. 1; Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 60, 63, 89, etc.; Schröckh, xxxii. 27; Aschb. iv. c. 4.

[a] Hard. viii. 1454, seqq.; Palacky, III. iii. 40.

[b] Page 48.

[c] Monum. Conc. Basil. i. 264; Lenf. i. 376.

their enemies as judges.[d] The opinions of this party were set forth in a letter addressed to the council at Martinmas 1431, and supposed to be chiefly the work of Procopius. The letter dwells on the corruptions of the ecclesiastical system—the faults of the clergy, the mischievous effects of wealth on them, their pomp, luxury, incontinence, and rapacity; on the use of lying legends, on the prohibition of Holy Scripture, on the abuses of private mass and of confession, on the breach of the Saviour's commands as to administration of the eucharist in both kinds, as to the persecution of the reformers, and other such matters.[e] To this the council replied on the 28th of December;[f] and it continued its attempts to conciliate the Bohemians. At length, after conferences at Eger between representatives of the two parties,[g] it was agreed that the Bohemians should send deputies to Basel.[h] One of them had bluntly said, "Lo, you have laws which allow you to break all promises and oaths; what security then can you give us?"[i] The safe-conduct was therefore elaborately drawn up, so as to allow no repetition of the treachery to which Hus had fallen a victim, and it included permission for the Bohemians to hold their services in their own fashion within their lodgings at Basel.[k] The pope at last gave a qualified assent to the attempt which the council desired to make at reconciliation.[l]

June 20, 1432.

[d] Palacky, III. iii. 23.

[e] Joh. Ragus. 153-70.

[f] Ib. 170, seqq.

[g] Invitation to the Bohemians, March 8, in Joh. Ragus. 197; Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 79; instructions to the envoys of the council, March 28, Joh. Ragus. 208, etc.

[h] Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 131.

[i] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 49; Joh. Ragus. 218, seqq.; Palacky, III. iii. 45. Martin V. wrote very plainly in 1422 to the duke of Lithuania:—"Scito tu fidem dare hæreticis violatoribus fidei sanctæ non potuisse, et peccare mortaliter si servabis, quia fidelis ad infidelem nulla potest esse communio." (Rayn. 1422. 22.) The council had said to the Bohemians: "Plenam et omnimodam securitatem accedendi, standi, et redeundi promptis et non fictis dabimus animis." Hard. viii. 1472.

[k] Ib. 1126; cf. 1229, 1472; Joh Ragus. 207, 221, 223; Lent. i. 379.

[l] Rayn. 1432. 19 (Dec. 15).

On the 4th of January 1433, the Bohemian deputies, thirty in number, arrived at Basel, where their foreign dress, with the wild and fierce looks of some among them, produced a great excitement. Procopius the Great was regarded with peculiar interest and awe for his combined character of priest and general—as the skilful and terrible commander before whom so many thousands had fallen.[m] The strangers were received with much respect by the council and by the magistrates of the city;[n] and notwithstanding the utter unlikeness of the men, a friendly relation was speedily established between Cesarini and Procopius, who was often a welcome guest at the legate's table.[o]

On the Epiphany, the various sections of the Bohemians celebrated their religious services, and the curious spectators who were admitted to witness those of the Taborites and Orphans were astonished at the absence of an altar (for which a table covered with a towel was the substitute), of special vestments, and of the usual ceremonies.[p] For some days there was so much curiosity as to these services, that the legate thought of forbidding all resort to them; but the interest in them declined, when their novelty had passed away.[q]

On the 10th of January, the deputies were formally

[m] Æn. Sylv. c. 49: Pet. Zatec. in Mon. Concil. Basil. i. 289; Cochl. 247. "Inter quos sacerdos quidam erat, vir profecto truculentus et immanis, qui omni tempore sanguinem sitiebat, videbaturque in aspectu maidus et involutus humano cruore: cui nomen Procopius erat." Joh. Stella, Annales Genuenses, in Murat. xvii. 1314.

[n] Pet. Zatec. 289; Palacky, III. iii. 69. By way of preparing for the arrival of the Bohemians, all indecencies about the streets of Basel, all dicing, dancing, etc., had been forbidden. Joh. Ragus. 258.

[o] Pet. Zatec. 311; Palacky, III. iii. 75. There is an account of the Bohemians at Basel in Brown's 'Fasciculus,' i. 311, seqq. Æneas Sylvius tells us that Cesarini made a practice of entertaining ambassadors, etc., immediately on their arrival at Basel, and used by this and other means to discover so much of their business as to be able to answer them at once when they had their audience. (Pentalogus, in Pez, IV. iii. 650.) The legate said to Procopius, on Feb. 14, "Quanto ego plus vobiscum conversor tanto meum cor plus vobiscum inclinatur." Pet. Zatec. l. c.

[p] Joh. Ragus. 259.

[q] "Unde factum est per neglectam licentiam quod nullomodo factum fuisset per exactam prohibitionem, quia humana fragilitas semper nititur in vetitum." Joh. Ragus. l. c.

received by the council, when Cesarini, who had resumed the presidency,[r] addressed them in an eloquent speech which lasted two hours, and by the pathos with which, in the name of the mother church, he entreated them to unity, drew tears from the eyes of many on both sides.[s] Rokyczana, who for some years had been regarded as the leader of the Calixtines,[t] replied by expressing thanks for the kindness with which he and his companions had been received, and by requesting an opportunity of setting forth their opinions.[u]

On the 16th of January the discussion began. The Bohemians had agreed to insist upon four points, which were substantially the same as the four articles of Prague;[x] and when these were stated, some members of the council expressed their surprise that the differences which had produced so much agitation were not more considerable.[y]

The disputation which followed, between four champions on each side, was of enormous length—some of the speeches extending to eight or nine days, and the whole occupying not less than fifty days.[z] For the Bohemians, who spoke first, appeared Rokyczana, Procopius, a Taborite bishop named Nicolas, and Peter Payne, who took up time by relating the troubles which he had undergone in his own country, and was frequently contradicted by English members of the council.[a] On the part of the

[r] Sept. 1432. Joh. Segov. p. 233.

[s] Hard. viii. 1540, seqq.; Mansi, xxix. 679; Joh. Ragus. 261; Pet. Zatec. 290; Æn. Sylv. c. 50.

[t] Schröckh, xxxiv. 702. John of Ragusa describes him as having led the Prague party out of many heresies by his preaching, although holding to the necessity of administering the cup. 141.

[u] Ib. 261.

[x] Hard. viii. 1446; Æn. Sylv. c. 50; cf. sup. p. 29.

[y] Palacky, III. iii. 84. See in Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 299, a paper of 28 articles imputed to the Bohemians. This was produced on Jan. 28.

[z] Æn. Sylv. c. 50; Rokycz. in Mart. viii. 353, 362, etc.

[a] Joh. Ragus. 269. Payne was opposed especially by "quidam doctor theologiæ Anglicus, scilicet Perdix, nomine Petrus Pertricz." (Pet. Zatec. 335.) The same writer tells us that a Carmelite, having imputed to Wyclif an opinion which he could not find in his books, although he had undertaken to do so, "non verebatur tamen de mendacio, licet Anglicus esset." 303.

council the argument was begun by John Stojkovic, of Ragusa, the Dominican already mentioned,[b] who spoke from the 1st to the 11th of February, and was followed by Giles Carlier, dean of Cambray, Henry Kalteisen, a Dominican and inquisitor of Mentz,[c] and John of Palomar.[d] Rokyczana then extorted the right of replying to John of Ragusa, and discoursed from the 2nd to the 10th of March, with the exception of two days. John of Ragusa wished once more to rejoin, and his opponent did not object to this; but the council had heard enough, and at last the debate came to an end.[e] The parties had throughout had different designs; for the Bohemians hoped that their articles might be accepted and generally enforced, while the council had no thought of any further concession than possibly that of allowing the Bohemians to hold their peculiarities by way of indulgence and exception.[f]

In the course of these discussions, Rokyczana excited much admiration by his eloquence,[g] and by a readiness of wit which often enlivened the more serious arguments.

[b] See p. 42.

[c] Kalteisen was nominated by Nicolas V. to the archbishoprick of Drontheim, in opposition to a canon elected by the chapter, and to the bishop of Skalholt, who was named by the king. After a contest of six years, the capitular candidate, Olave Thrandsen, got possession in 1458, and Kalteisen, who had wished to resign on finding that the national feeling was against him, received from Pius II. the title of archbishop of Cæsarea. (Trithem. Catal. Illustr. Virorum, 158; Quét.-Echard, i. 823; Münter, ii. 621-32.)

[d] See p. 42. Jerome of Prague, the Camaldolite who has been already mentioned as a missionary to Lithuania (B. VIII. c. ix. sect. 4), asked leave to speak against the errors of his countrymen, and was told that he might do so after the appointed disputants had finished their speeches (Joh. Ragus. 269); but he does not seem to have used the opportunity. Andrew of Ratisbon had heard that John of Palomar, in dispute with a Hussite, "probationi ignis se submisit" (*i.e.* seemingly, he *offered* to undergo the ordeal), but that the other party refused. Eccard. i. 2167.

[e] The arguments are sketched by Peter of Saaz. The speeches of John of Ragusa, Carlier, Kalteisen, and Palomar, are given by Canisius, vol. iv., and thence by Hardouin and Mansi. See also Palacky, III. iii. 80, seqq.

[f] Ib. 94.

[g] He is described as speaking, "animosa verbositate in expressa et tubali voce." Andr. Ratisb. 2167.

Procopius, although he showed much knowledge of Scripture, excited frequent laughter by the roughness of his manner. Thus, when the legate mentioned that some Hussites were reported to have ascribed the origin of the mendicant orders to the devil, Procopius started up and exclaimed that this was quite true; "for," said he, "if neither the patriarchs nor Moses, our Lord nor his apostles, instituted the mendicants, what can they be but the work of the devil and of darkness?"[h] The enormous length at which John of Ragusa spoke, and his frequent divergences into irrelevant subjects, provoked (as he himself candidly informs us) complaints on the parts of the Bohemians.[i] He was also charged by Rokyczana with unfairness in his quotations; although against this charge he defends himself.[j] But the chief offence which John gave was by using the word *heretic* sixteen times within a few minutes. The Bohemians took this as an insult to themselves. Procopius, with furious contortions of his face, and his eyes suddenly bloodshot, exclaimed that it was a violation of the safe-conduct; that he and his companions would not have come to Basel if they had expected to be branded as heretics. It was in vain that the legate attempted to restore peace. The Bohemians absented themselves during the remainder of John's discourse; and the matter was carried further after the meeting had broken up. John disavowed, even with imprecations, any intention of offending the Bohemians, and his apologies were admitted; but Procopius still refused to meet him at the legate's table.[k]

The great debate was followed up by the appointment of committees, in which the discussion of the Bohemian differences was continued; and it was agreed that the council should send envoys into Bohemia. After a solemn

[h] Æn. Sylv. c. 50, p. 119; Palacky, III. iii. 96-7.
[i] Joh. Ragus. 277. Ib. 279.
[k] Ib. 280-3; Pet. Zatec. 304-5. 311; Joh. Segov. p. 323; Palacky, III. iii. 88.

leave-taking, therefore, on the 13th of April (Monday after Easter), the Bohemian deputies set out homewards on the following day, with Philibert of Coutances, the bishop of Augsburg, Palomar, Carlier, an English archdeacon, named Alexander, and some others, as representatives of the council.[1] These representatives were secretly instructed to work on the differences which existed between the Bohemian parties; and they found the task easy. They drew into their interest Meinhard of Neuhaus, a powerful baron, who from that time was the leader of the Bohemian catholics, and entered into an agreement with other nobles to rescue the management of public affairs from the hands of the democratic and tyrannical faction, whose interests were all on the side of war.[m]

The proposals of the council were embodied in four articles, which afterwards became known by the name of *Compactata*, and, after much discussion and some modifications, were agreed on as terms of peace on the 30th of November:[n]—

(1.) The clergy were allowed to administer the eucharist in both kinds to such adults[o] as should desire it; but always with the explanation that under each kind is the Saviour whole and perfect.

(2.) The punishment of sins is declared to belong, not to private persons, but to those who are in authority—

[1] Pet. atec. 357; Ægid. Carlerius de Legationibus, Monum. i. 361, seqq. This tract is very full on the subject, and contains documents, etc. See, too, Cochl. 258, seqq.

[m] Æn. Sylv. c. 51; Ægid. Carl. 366; Cochl. 269; Palacky, III. iii. 114, 119-20.

[n] The envoys of the council had returned to Basel in July, and on Sept. 11th the bishop of Coutances, with Palomar and two others, set out on a second mission to Prague, where they arrived on Oct. 22. (Ægid. Carl. 376-7, 446-7, 456. See Martene, Coll. Ampl. viii. 698, seqq.; Monum. i. 495; Joh. Segov. l. v.: Cochl. 271; Giesel. II. iv. 441-3; Palacky, III. iii. 122-8, 139-40, 146-7.)

[o] Some of the Hussites had insisted on the communion of infants. See, *e.g.*, in Palacky's 'Documenta,' p. 674, the proposal that Jacobellus, as an advocate of the practice, should hold a disputation with Simon of Tussnow. Cf. ib. p. 635, and p. 16 above.

clergy over clergy, and laymen over laity; and regard must always be had to right and justice.

(3.) As to the demand for free preaching, it is said that preachers must be authorized by their superiors, and that the power of the bishops must be regarded.

(4.) The church may possess lands and temporal property, and may have private and civil lordship over them. The clergy are bound to administer its property faithfully, and others may not invade or detain such property.[p]

These terms were granted on condition that in all other points the Bohemians should conform to the church as to faith and ceremonies.[q] But although the more moderate among them were willing to agree to this, the Taborites continued to hold out.[r] The discords between the various parties became more open and more violent;[s] and on Sunday, the 30th of May 1434, they came to a head in a great battle at Lipan. The fight lasted all day, and even through the night until dawn. The slaughter was immense, and among those who fell were both the Great and the Lesser Procopius.[t] No quarter was given; and it is said that, after the battle, Meinhard of Neuhaus —by proclaiming that the war was to be carried on until the neighbouring nations should be reduced, and that for this purpose the veteran followers of the Procopii were invited to serve with increased pay—induced a large number of Taborites and Orphans to enter some barns,

[p] To the last article were originally added the words, "sine reatu sacrilegii"; but these were, after much discussion, given up by the council's deputies. (Palacky, III. iii. 146-7.) There was also discussion as to the words, "Bona ecclesiæ *usurpari non possunt*," for which the Bohemians wished to substitute *injuste detineri non debent*. Ib. 202.

[q] Cochlæus says that the Hussites never kept the Compactata honestly, and deviated from the church in many points besides those which were allowed. 287.

[r] See Ægid. Carler. 456, seqq.

[s] Palacky, III. iii. 154-61. When Procopius the Great, being ill, asked the Praguers to send him a doctor, they answered that he should have none but the executioner. Joh. Ragus. 140.

[t] Herm. Corner. 1338-9; Andr. Ratisb. 2166; Hard. viii. 1645; Palacky, III. iii. 157, 162-5.

as if by way of separating themselves from the less experienced soldiers; after which the doors were closed, the buildings were set on fire, and the victims of the treachery were burnt alive.[u] By this defeat and its consequences, the Taborites and Orphans were greatly reduced in numbers, and their power was effectually broken.

During the emperor's absence in Italy, the council of Basel had risen more and more decidedly into an attitude of opposition to the pope, and had manifested a desire, not only to triumph over Eugenius personally, but to humble the Roman see. In this course they were urged on by the influence of two cardinals — Branda and Capranica — who had special grievances against Eugenius, and had hurried to Basel in the hope of making the council an instrument of their vengeance.[x] But still more important than these cardinals was Nicolas Chryfftz or Krebs, who, from his birthplace, Cüs, on the Moselle, is generally known by the name of Cusanus.[y] Cusanus, born in 1401, had raised himself from a very humble station; he was now dean of St. Florin's, at Coblentz, and enjoyed a great reputation for character, ability, and learning.[z] In his treatise "Of Catholic Agreement," sent forth during the sitting of the council, he strongly maintains the superiority of general councils over popes;[a]

[u] "Homines nigri, ad solem et ventum indurati, aspectu tetri atque horribiles, et qui circa fumum in castris vixissent, aquilinis oculis, impexo crine, promissa barba, corporibus proceris, membris hispidis, cute adeo dura ut ferrum quasi lorica repulsura videretur." (Æn. Sylv. c. 51, fin.) Cf. Cochl. 278 (who seems to approve of the thing); Palacky, III. i. 167-8, who says that Æneas Sylvius has much exaggerated the numbers by speaking of "pleraque millia."

[x] Hard. viii. 1338; Planck, v. 436. See Rayn. 1431. 34; 1432. 17; and the Life of Capranica in Baluz. Miscell. i 344-5.

[y] Giesel. II. iv. 62. See on Cusanus, Ritter, ix. 141-219. Æneas Sylvius speaks of him as "homo et priscarum litterarum eruditissimus, et multarum rerum usu perdoctus." De Gestis Basil. Conc. p. 3.

[z] Trithem. Catal. Illust. Virorum. 157-8.

[a] De Concordantia Catholica, ii. 5, in Schard's 'Syntagma'; or in Cusanus' Works, ii. 683, seqq., ed. Basil. 1565.

he holds that the decrees of councils do not derive their force from the papal sanction;[b] that the pope has no such superiority over other bishops as was supposed by the extreme papal party;[c] that infallibility is not promised to one member of the church, but to the whole;[d] that the council may depose a pope, not only for heresy but for other causes;[e] that the church has the power freely to choose its own chief; and that, if the archbishop of Treves should be so chosen by the assembled church, he, rather than the bishop of Rome, would properly be the successor of St. Peter's principality.[f] Cusanus also, after investigating the alleged donation of Constantine and the story connected with it, declares them to be fabulous;[g] he expresses an opinion that some of the decretals had been forged for the exaltation of the Roman see to the detriment of the church;[h] he denies the truth of the belief that the empire had been transferred from the Greeks to the Germans by the authority of the pope;[i] and, with regard to the convocation of councils, he is decidedly opposed to the papal pretensions.[k]

The council, at its second session, renewed the decree of Constance, by which general councils were declared to have their power immediately from Christ, and to be superior to all other authority, even that of the pope.[l]

Feb. 15, 1432.

At the third session, the fathers declared that the dissolution of the council by Eugenius was null; they prayed him to recall it, to appear at Basel within three months, if his health would allow, or otherwise to send representatives with full power; and they added that, if this should be neglected, they would,

April 29.

[b] De Concordantia Catholica, ii. 8, 17.
[c] Ib. 13. [d] Ib. 18. [e] Ib.
[f] Ib. 34, p. 352, ed. Schard.
[g] iii. 2. [h] Ib.; cf. ii. 17.
[i] iii. 3. His argument as to this partly rests on the fact that he could find no such transference by Adrian I.; whereas the coronation of Charlemagne was by Adrian's successor, so that the argument is thus far void.
[k] Ib. 15, etc.
[l] Hard. viii. 1121.

under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, take care for the necessities of the church.[m]

At the fourth session (besides writing to the Bohemians)[n] they decreed that, if the papacy should become vacant during the continuance of the council, the succeeding pope must be chosen in the place where it was assembled.[o] They forbade the promotion of any new cardinals during the existence of the council.[p] They appointed a cardinal to be governor of Avignon and of the Venaissin, where a nephew of Eugenius had been unable to get himself acknowledged in that character;[q] and they ordered a special seal to be prepared, with the symbolical dove on one side and the title of the council on the other.[r] June 20.

Eugenius had endeavoured to treat with the council[s] by sending to Basel the archbishops of Rhodes[t] and Taranto. These prelates, in speeches addressed to the assembly, dwelt on the necessity of harmony and co-operation with a view to the reconciliation both of the Greeks and of the Hussites; and on the superior convenience of Bologna as a place of meeting, whereas they represented Basel as at once exposed to the Hussites and inaccessible for both the Greeks and the pope.[u] But the council, in a written reply, vindicated their course with regard to the pope, and their negotiations with the Bohemians. They combated the objections which had been made to the position of Basel, and prayed that the

[m] Hard. viii. 1124-5. [n] Ib. 1126-30.
[o] Ib. 1131. This was repeated at the seventh session, Nov. 6, 1432; ib. 1140. [p] Ib. 1132.
[q] Ib. 1133; Rayn. 1432. 32; Jenkins, 214.
[r] Hard. viii. 1132. See the engraving in Lenfant, i. 429. Eugenius says that this was a novelty which no other general council had ventured on. Rayn. 1436. 8.
[s] For the various missions on both sides, see Mansi, N. in Rayn. ix. 117.
[t] So Bp. Hefele, after Hardouin, interprets Colossensis or Colocensis (vii. 472), which others (as Schröckh, xxxii. 877) connect with Calocza, in Hungary.
[u] Speech of Abp. of Rhodes (?), Aug. 31, 1432, in Hard. viii. 1518-30; Abp. of Taranto, ib. 1530-40; cf. Aug. Patr. ib. ix. 1091; Herm. Corner, 1314.

pope would not grieve the Holy Spirit by interfering with the important work which was before them as to the Greeks, the Hussites, and the reform of the church.[x]

Sept. 6, 1432. At the sixth session, the promoters of the case against the pope requested that, as having failed to appear, he should be pronounced contumacious and obstinate; he was thrice cited at the high altar of the cathedral, and thrice at the principal door; but, as might have been expected, no response was made.[y]

Dec. 18. At the eighth session, sixty days were granted "ex abundanti cautela" to the pope, within which time he was required to revoke the bull of dissolution, and entirely to join the council.[z]

July 13, 1433. At the twelfth session, the term was extended by sixty days more, within which time any promotions or other exercises of patronage which the pope might make were to be null; and at the end of it, if he should not have obeyed the order, the cardinals and clergy were required to leave the Roman court within thirty days.[a] In the meanwhile Eugenius, on his part, was employed in preparing two bulls for the dissolution of the council, denying the validity of all its acts, and forbidding all obedience to it.[b]

Sept. 11. At the thirteenth session, it was again proposed that, in consequence of his disregard of citations, the pope should be declared contumacious. But duke William of Bavaria, as the emperor's representative, with the local magistrates and others, intervened, and obtained a further delay of thirty days, as Sigismund was expected at Basel.[c] The emperor (who had been

[x] Resp. Synodalis (3 Non. Sept. 1432), Hard. viii. 1317-43.

[y] Ib. 1137.

[z] Ib. 1141.

[a] Ib. 1155-6; ix. 1108.

[b] Ib. viii. 1173-6. The dates are July 29 and Sept. 15, 1433. There is a third and longer bull of Sept. 15, which the pope declared to have been drawn up without his knowledge. Ib. 1176. See Hefele, vii. 549.

[c] Hard. viii. 1161-4; Joh. Segov. v. 30.

formally acknowledged by the council as its protector,[d] had repeatedly written from Italy, for the purpose of moderating its proceedings,[e] and had also endeavoured, although vainly, to persuade the pope to concession. On the day after his arrival, he presented to some deputies of the council a document which he had at length obtained from Eugenius, revoking the dissolution, and acknowledging the council.[g] But this was not considered sufficient.[h] Oct. 12, 1433.

At the fourteenth session, where Sigismund appeared in state, ninety days more were granted to the pope, and three forms were proposed to be submitted to him, that he might choose which he would subscribe—all of them, however, containing a declaration that he annulled his bulls of dissolution, and acknowledged the beginning and continuation of the council as valid.[i] Nov. 7.

In the meantime the intrigues of the duke of Milan, the arms of the rival condottieri, Sforza, Piccinino, and Fortebraccio, and the hereditary factions of the Colonna and Orsini families, distracted Italy, and endangered the temporal dominions of the pope, who felt himself insecure even in his capital.[k] By these distresses Eugenius was disposed to seek a reconciliation with the council.[l] By a bull dated on the 15th of December 1433, and amended

[d] Sess. ix., Jan. 22, 1433. At the same time it declared any sentence of deprivation which the pope had pronounced, or might pronounce against him, to be null.

[e] *E.g.*, Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 165, 185.

[f] See a letter from Eugenius to the doge of Venice, in Rayn. 1433. 19. Aug. Patric. in Hard. ix. 1113.

[g] Hard. viii. 1586. The date of it is Aug. 1, 1433. See Hefele, vii. 540-2.

[h] Joh. Segov. vi. 7-8. The pope's consent to the proceedings of the council was expressed by the words "volumus et contentamur." The council had proposed "decernimus et declaramus"; and these words were eventually conceded. See Hefele, vii. 540-1, 562.

[i] Hard. viii. 1167-8; Joh. Segov. vi. 25-6; Schröckh, xxxii. 46.

[k] Sism. vi. 305-6; Reumont, III. i. 89-90; Gregorovius, vii. 41.

[l] Platina, 299. As to earlier proposals, see Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 538, 551, etc.; Rayn. 1433. 5, 19.

from that which the emperor had formerly produced,[m] he revoked his bulls for dissolution and all sentences which he had uttered against the council; and this revocation was accepted by the council at its sixteenth session, on the 5th of February 1434.[n] At the seventeenth session, where the emperor was arrayed in all the ensigns of his dignity, the pope's legates were incorporated with the council, and admitted to the presidency of it, on swearing, in their own names,[o] that a general council has its authority immediately from Christ, and that all men, including even the pope, are bound to obey it in matters relating to faith, to the extinction of schism, and to the reform of the church in head and members.[p] By this adhesion Eugenius was supposed to sanction all the former proceedings of the council, as they did not fail afterwards to remind him.[q]

April 26, 1434.

Sigismund, although he had throughout been friendly to the council, found many things to offend him when brought into personal intercourse with it.[r] He shrank from the idea of a new schism, and declared that he would die rather than allow the church to be divided.[s] He was disappointed at finding that a body of pretensions so imposing was so scanty in numbers.[t] He felt himself slighted by its entering into negotiations with other potentates without due reference to him for his approval; and especially he was disgusted by the disposition which it showed to meddle with the politics of

[m] See Giesel. II. iv. 65-6.

[n] Hard. viii. 1172-82; J. Segov. vii. 36.

[o] "Privatis nominibus." The council had before refused to admit the legates as presidents. See the letter of 6 Kal. Jul. 1433 in Hard. viii. 1343-8. Cf. Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 823, 825; J. Segov. vi. 50; vii. 28, seqq.

[p] Hard. viii. 1183-4, 1465. See Turrecremata in Rayn. 1434. 14. The power of the legates was limited by strict conditions, which show that a fresh breach with the pope was apprehended. Planck, v. 445-6.

[q] Hard. viii. 1408, 1412. His advocates (as Turrecrem. in Rayn. 1433. 2) say that he approved only of the progress of the council, not of its decrees. See Hefele, vii. 565-7.

[r] Joh. Segov. viii. 42-4.

[s] Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2164.

[t] Schmidt, iv. 192.

Germany, as in a case of an appeal from him by the duke of Lauenburg.[u] On the 19th of May 1443, the emperor left Basel.[x]

The troubles by which Eugenius had been induced to submit to the council were soon after increased by an insurrection of his own subjects. On the 29th of May, a multitude of the Romans, provoked by the contempt with which their complaints had been received by his nephew, cardinal Francis Condolmieri, rushed to the Capitol with shouts of "Liberty!" and demanded that Eugenius should make over the government to bannerets who should be chosen by the people. On his refusing to give up his nephew as a hostage, the cardinal was torn from his side.[y] Eugenius himself was placed under the care of a guard at St. Mary's in the Trastevere, but escaped in the disguise of a monk, with one companion, to the Tiber, where they found a boat ready to receive them. But the speed with which the boat was urged down the stream excited suspicion, and multitudes both on horseback and on foot made their way direct along the Ostian road to St. Paul's, while the pope's progress was delayed by the windings of the river. Showers of arrows, javelins, and stones were aimed at his boat from the bank, and attempts were made to pursue and to intercept it on the water.[z] Eugenius, however, reached Ostia in safety, and thence, by way of Leghorn and Pisa, he made his way to Florence, where he was lodged in the monastery of Santa Maria Novella.[a] Among the reforms

June 14.

June 23.

[u] Ægid. Carler. in Monum. Basil. i. 520.

[x] Hard. viii. 1610; Lenf. i. 433-4; Aschbach, iv. 163-5; Schmidt, iv. 192, 194.

[y] Infessura in Eccard, ii. 1878; Reumont, iii. 91; Gregorov. vii. 45.

[z] Infess. 1878; Flav. Blondus, 482-4; Platina, 298; Joh. Stella, in Murat. xvii. 1313; Vespasian., ib. xxv. 256; Gregorov. vii. 46-7. The facts of the affair would hardly be suspected from the pope's account of it in a letter to the council. Hard. viii. 1592.

[a] Ist. di Firenze, in Murat. xix. 975; Antonin. 523.

which he undertook in the monastic system during his residence at Florence was a restoration of discipline in that convent, which he transferred to the Friars Observant of St. Dominic.[b]

The council, after its reconciliation with Eugenius, had greatly increased in numbers; and for a time it devoted itself to questions of reform,[c] with a diligence which has missed somewhat of its due estimation on account of the assembly's later proceedings.[d] Decrees were passed for entire freedom of elections in churches; against simony,[e] expectancies, usurpations of patronage,[f] reservations, annates, and many exactions by which the Roman court drained the wealth of western Christendom;[g] against frivolous appeals,[h] against the abuse of interdicts,[i] the concubinage of the clergy,[k] the burlesque festivals and other indecencies connected with the service of the church.[l]

[b] Antonin 526; Vespas. 527.

[c] Aug. Patric. in Hard. ix. 1119, seqq. On the difficulty of reform, see Joh. Segov. iv. 29.

[d] Schröckh, xxxii. 51, from Richer. With a view to reform, a bishop named Andrew addressed to Card. Cesarini, in March 1436 (as appears by the date at the end), the "Gubernaculum Conciliorum," which is printed by Von der Hardt, vi. 139, seqq. The writer, who is there called *Magorensis*, is said by Gieseler (II. ii. 68), on the authority of "Antonii Biblioth. Hispan.," to have been Andrew de Escobar, [titular] bishop of Megara, a Spaniard; but there seems to be a difficulty in reconciling this with his speaking of himself as having presided at the 6th session of the council of Constance (col. 154; cf. V. d. Hardt, iv. 97, seqq.). "Andreas, Hispanus Portugallensis, episcopus Megarensis," subscribed the council of Florence (Hard. ix. 425, 988). The writer of the treatise strongly maintains the superiority of general councils over popes (157, 220, 299, etc.). The pope's power is said to be only as "concilii executor et minister Christi" (162). Councils are extolled as the right means for reform (190-1), for the extirpation of heresies, the recovery of the Holy Land (193-5), and the restoration of monastic life. The argument is drawn from the example of former councils, which, however, is sometimes oddly applied. *E.g.*, As the third general council condemned the heresy of supposing two Persons in Christ, a council is now necessary to put down the schisms of two or three rivals for the papacy (211). The writer lays down that a council can only be dissolved by itself; not by the pope. See two letters of Ambrose of Camaldoli to Eugenius in favour of reform. Epp. i. 14-15.

[e] See the debates in Joh. Segov. l. viii. [f] Hard. viii. 1196, 1209, 1247.

[g] Ib. ix. 1121; Joh. Segov. ix. 22.

[h] Hard. viii. 1195, 1245.

[i] Ib. [k] Ib. 1193; ix. 1120.

[l] Ib. viii. 1196-9; ix. 1121. Compare an ordinance of Charles VII. in Mart. Thes. i. 1804; also d'Argentré, i. 242-8.

Rules were laid down as to the election of popes,[m] and as to their conduct in office. The pope was to make his profession with some additions to the form prescribed at Constance; and at every celebration of his anniversary, it was to be read over to him by a cardinal during the service of the mass.[n] The number of cardinals was limited to twenty-four: they were to be taken from all Christian countries, and to be chosen with the consent of the existing cardinals. A very few of royal or princely families might be admitted, but the nephews of the pope were to be excluded from the college.[o]

But it was natural that measures of reform which touched the privileges and the income of the papacy should excite alarm and jealousy in Eugenius. He sent envoys to beg that the decree against annates—a payment which he ventured to describe as of immemorial antiquity, and as sanctioned by the general council of Vienne[p]—might be suspended, or that by some other means he might be enabled to support his dignity, and to bear the many charges to which he was liable; but, although his suit was strongly urged on the council, the answer was that no provision could be made for him until he should have submitted himself to its authority. On this point Cesarini separated himself from the other legates, by speaking and voting with the majority of the assembly.[q] Eugenius vented his grievances against the council in letters and messages to kings and princes;[r] among other things he complained that, with a view to meeting the costs of an expected mission from the Greek

[m] Hard. viii. 1201-4.

[n] Ib. 1202-3.

[o] Ib. 1206-9. See Planck, v. 746.

[p] Eug. in Rayn. 1436. 4. That the origin of annates was later than that council, see vol. vii. p. 126.

[q] Hard. vii. 1348, ix. 1120-1; Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 643; Giesel. II. iv. 75.

[r] *E.g.*, Rayn. 1437. 16, and especially the pamphlet of instructions to his envoys. (Rayn. 1436. 2, seqq.) In answer to this the council issued a synodal letter, Oct. 19, 1437. Hard. viii. 1360-72; cf. Giesel. II. iv. 76.

church, it had taken on itself to issue an indulgence resembling those which had been usual for crusades.[s]

The Greeks had been invited into the west both by the council and by the pope, with a view to confer on the reunion of the churches; but as to the place of the conference it was impossible to come to any agreement. The pope was resolved that it should be south of the Alps, while the council, at a very stormy session, Sess. xxv., May 7, 1437. pronounced, by a majority of more than two-thirds, in favour of Basel, Avignon, or some town in Savoy.[t] But at the same session the minority of the council, headed by the legates, passed a decree in recommendation of Florence, Udine, or some other safe place in the south;[u] and while the decree of the majority was being published from the pulpit of the cathedral, one of the other party in a distant part of the building read out that of the minority, which, through the contrivance of the archbishop of Taranto, was fortified with the seal of the council (as the decree of the majority had also been), and was forwarded to the pope.[x] Eugenius gave his sanction to the decision of his partisans,[y] and on the 18th of September he issued a bull for transferring the council of Basel to Ferrara, although he allowed a stay of thirty days more at Basel for the purpose of conferring with the Hussites.[z]

[s] Rayn. 1436. 12. The indulgence (Sess. xxiv., 18 Kal. Mai. 1436) is in Hard. viii. 1217; the council's answer to the pope's legates, ib. 1358.

[t] Ib. 1222; ix. 1118, 1131; J. Segov. x. 25; Hefele, vii. 644-5. The people of Avignon were willing to lend money for the expenses, if their city might be the place. Hard. ix. 1134.

[u] Ib. 674-7; cf. Rayn. 1437. 1, seqq., etc.; Joh. Segov. xi. 15, seqq. See a letter of Æn. Sylvius Piccolomini in Mansi, xxxi. 220, seqq.

[x] Hard. viii. 1231, 1239, 1258; ix. 1133; Rayn. 1437. 6-7; Jenkins, 260, seqq.; Milm. vi. 105-6; Ffoulkes, ii. 332; Hefele, vii. 647. Aug. Patrizi represents the minority as far more respectable than the other party, which "ex vili plebe magna ex parte constabat, quamvis ducem haberet cardinalem Arelatensem, et nonnullos alios prælatos." Hard. ix. 1131.

[y] Ib. 681 (May 29).

[z] Ib. 698. Against the translation, the council quoted the charge given to the apostles, "Go not from house to house" [Luke x. 7], Joh. Segov. xi. 1.

But before this his relations with the council had become such as to provoke a resumption of the proceedings against him. At the twenty-sixth session Eugenius was charged with many offences, and was summoned to appear, in person or by proxy, within sixty days.[a] At the following session his promotions of cardinals were annulled; and, as it was reported that he intended to sell Avignon and the Venaissin, in order to pay for the expected visit of the Greeks, the council forbade this alienation of property belonging to the Roman see.[b] At the twenty-eighth session his neglect of the citations was reported, and he was declared to be obstinately contumacious.[c] A renewal of the schism appeared to be at hand, and Sigismund was labouring to avert such a calamity, when his efforts were cut short by death, at Znaym, in Hungary, in the beginning of December 1437.[d]

July 31.

Sept. 26.

Oct. 1.

The pope's council opened at Ferrara on the 8th of January 1438; but from among the fathers of Basel the only defections to it were those of Cesarini, Nicolas of Cusa, and two others.[e] Cesarini found it impossible to remain at Basel, as the council became more entirely antipapal, and seemed likely even to fix on himself as the head of a new schism.[f] He had ceased to attend the sessions of the council since that at which the proceedings against Eugenius had been resumed;[g] and in the beginning of 1438 he left Basel.[h]

[a] Hard. viii. 1225-8; ix. 1133. It is said that the emperor had interceded to procure this term of delay. (Ib. 1251.) For other documents of the time, see Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 928, 931, etc.

[b] Hard. viii. 1229-34.

[c] Ib. 1234-7. At this session the decree of the minority in favour of Florence, etc., was disavowed and annulled. Ib.; cf. ix. 1135.

[d] Ib. 1136-7; Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2174; Lenf. i. 474.

[e] On Cusanus' change of politics, see Schröckh, xxxii. 32-3; Voigt, En. Sylv. Piccolomini, i. 204; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Cusanus*—all more or less unfavourable to him. Ritter excuses him, ix. 144-6.

[f] Vita Juliani, ap. Ughelli, iii. 673; Hard. ix. 736.

[g] (Sess. xxvi., July 31, 1437.) Voigt, En. Silvio Piccolomini, i. 129.

[h] Perhaps on Jan. 7. His departure was not clandestine, but public, and

The council, however, held on its course, undeterred by the condemnations uttered against it by the pope and by the rival assembly, who declared the men of Basel to be excommunicate and deprived, and all their acts to be annulled.[l] At the thirty-first session, it pronounced that the pope was suspended, and that his powers both in spiritual and in temporal things had devolved on itself; and it forbade all obedience to him.[k] The next meeting pronounced the assembly at Ferrara to be a schismatical conventicle, and cited all its members to appear at Basel within thirty days.[l] In these proceedings the leaders were Lewis Allemand, cardinal-archbishop of Arles (the only cardinal who still remained at Basel)—a man who combined in a rare degree eloquence, temper, firmness, and tact;[m] and Nicolas de Tudesco, archbishop of Palermo (Panormitanus), the most famous canonist of the age.[n]

Sess. XXXII., March 24, 1438.

In the vacancy of the empire it was natural that the rival ecclesiastical parties should endeavour to gain the favour of the German electors. With this view the archbishop of Palermo was sent on the part of the council to

the council gave him an escort. Nicolas of Cusa had left Basel earlier (Voigt, l. c.). Mansi thinks that Cesarini probably appeared at Venice as ambassador of the council of Basel. (Rayn. t. ix. 265.) See Milm. vi. 112.

[l] Hard. ix. 734-8 (Feb. 15); Rayn. 1439. 78 (Aug. 1439).

[k] Hard. viii. 1250-4. Oliver de la Marche declines to go into details: "Car à toucher à la fame et au renom de si saincte et haute personne en Chrestienté comme nostre sainct-père le pape, l'entendement se doit arrester de frayeur, la langue doit barbusser de crainte, l'encre secher, le papier fendre, et la plume pleyer," etc. Petitot, I. sér. t. ix. 301.

[l] Hard. viii. 1260-1. See also the synodical letters of March 15 and Oct. 19, 1437, ib. 1360-72, 1375, seqq.

[m] Milman, vi. 131. "Vir omnium constantissimus, et ad gubernationem generalium conciliorum natus." (Æn. Sylv. p. 257.) See in Martene, Coll. Ampl. viii. 620, a letter of the duke of Milan, giving a curious account of the cardinal's escape from Rome to join the council. Oliver de la Marche calls him "noble homme, et du pais de Savoye" (l. c. 300) Hence he was connected with the duke-antipope Amadeus. By a strange fortune, this most decided opponent of the papacy was eventually beatified by Clement VII., and had churches dedicated to him at Arles and elsewhere. (Ciacon. ii. 843-4; Rayn. 1426. 26; Acta SS., Sept. 16, p. 536.)

[n] See Herzog, art. *Panormitanus*.

Frankfort, where he was confronted with representatives of the pope. The electors, however, declared themselves resolved to stand neutral for the time; and when Albert of Austria, a son-in-law of Sigismund, had been chosen as his successor, the neutrality was continued, notwithstanding the exertions of further missions from both sides.[o] But in another way the council was able to draw encouragement both from Germany and from France. Charles of France refused to send representatives to Ferrara.[p] In an assembly of the French estates, held at Bourges under the presidency of the king, the reforms of Basel were adopted, and were embodied in a document known as the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges;[q] and at a great diet at Mentz, in March 1439, where envoys both from the pope and from the council appeared, the reforming decrees of Basel were accepted by the Germans, while those which related to the process against the pope were set aside.[r]

March 7, 1438.

July 1438.

The resolutions of these assemblies were evidently guided by a wish to secure the benefits of reform, and at the same time to avoid the danger of a new schism. But the council, misconceiving their effect, began to over-estimate its strength, and to flatter itself with the

[o] Müller, 'Reichstagstheatrum,' i. 30-2; Schmidt, iv. 204-14; Schröckh, xxxii. 68-9; Hefele, vii. 772.

[p] Rayn. 1438. 13-14.

[q] Preuves des Lib. de l'Égl. Gall. 321; D'Argentré, i. 232. See Æn. Sylvius, in Gobellinus, 290-1; Rayn. 1438. 14, and Mansi's note. This document, in its very form, involves a claim on the part of the nation to review the decisions of a general council; and, like the pragmatic sanction of St. Lewis (see vol. vi. p. 250) it contains securities for the liberty of the national church. (Martin, vi. 392.) Eugenius wrote indignantly of it to the king (Rayn. 1439. 37), but Charles would not give it up. (Ib. 1440. 5.) See, as to the Bourges acceptance, a letter of the Abp. of Lyons, in Hard. viii. 1620.

[r] Koch, 'Sanctio Pragm. Germanorum,' 8-15, 26, 93, seqq. (Argentor. 1789); Schröckh, xxxii. 72-4; Schmidt, iv. 214-15. The Mentz assembly endeavoured to provide for the pope's support by a system of taxation more reasonable than that which had been usual. (Schmidt, iv. 216; cf. 230 as to the further approval of the Basel reforms.) The council allowed the Mentz limitations. Koch, 171.

hope that the French and the Germans would soon formally array themselves on its side. And thus it continued (as it had before done) to disregard the intercessions, the warnings, and even the threats, of princes and others who endeavoured to persuade it to moderation in its proceedings against the pope.[s]

Bishops, in alarm at the headstrong course on which the council appeared to be resolved, for the most part stayed at home, or absented themselves from its meetings;[t] but the members of lower rank went on without hesitation. In April 1439, the question was discussed whether Eugenius, in consequence of having disregarded the council's citations, and of having made a second attempt to dissolve it, were a heretic. Some were for voting him so simply; some thought that his heresy was aggravated by relapse, while others were for acquitting him; but at length, after a stirring debate, the matter was compromised by the ingenious device of voting him a heretic *pro*lapsed.[u] A violent discussion took place on the question whether presbyters should have the right of voting. Many of the bishops, from a wish to gain the assistance of the other order as allies against the papacy, were disposed to allow this.[v] But the archbishop of Palermo maintained that they had only a consultative voice; he spoke of the great body of the council in very contemptuous terms,[x] and inveighed against the presi-

[s] Hard. viii. 1119, 1372, 1388, 1479; ix. 698, 1149, 1154; Giesel. II. iv. 841. Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. gives several letters of warning, etc.

[t] Æn. Sylv. 43.

[u] Id. de Conc. Basil. p. 5.

[v] Voigt, i. 104. As to the right of voting in general councils, see Andr. Megar. in V. d. Hardt, vi. 235-70

[x] "Colluvies copistarum." (Hard. ix. 1154.) Eugenius had before complained of the indiscriminate admission to vote, whereby it was likely that the *major* might not be also the *sanior pars*. (Rayn. 1436. 8.) John of Palomar, A.D. 1443, says that, after the separation of the council into two, few persons of any note remained at Basel. "Fuerunt quidam monachi apostatæ et fugitivi, et nonnulli vel notarii vel copistæ, et quidam alii vix in sacris constituti, nullius æstimationis, qui quidem nec in diœcesanis nec in provincialibus conciliis de jure vel consuetudine admitterentur, qui Basileam ad hoc profecti fuerunt, et ad hoc

dent, the cardinal of Arles, as wishing, with the assistance of such a rabble, and of two or three titular bishops, to do away with the rights of the prelacy.[y] At the thirty-third session, on the 16th of May, the more moderate part of the council, backed by strong representations from the ambassadors of various powers, was able to obtain that, of eight articles which had been brought forward against Eugenius, three only, which bore on the relations of a pope and a council, should be affirmed, and that the others, which were of a personal nature, should be withdrawn.[z]

The thirty-fourth session of the council, on the 25th of June,[a] was fixed for the final act. As the attendance of bishops was expected to be scanty, the cardinal of Arles caused all the relics of noted sanctity which could be found in Basel to be collected, and, after having been carried in solemn procession about the streets, to be placed on the vacant seats; and such is said to have been the effect of this strange device, that, when the invocation of the Holy Spirit was pronounced, the whole assembly burst into tears.[b] The number of mitred prelates was small; but the clergy of inferior dignity amounted to more than three hundred, and their demeanour was marked by a gravity and a decorum which had not appeared in the late meetings.[c] Eugenius

morabantur, ut effugerent superiorum suorum correctionem, vel ut alios litibus vexarent, vel ut scandalum aliquod perpetrarent," etc. (Mansi, xxxi. 201.) Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, after having deserted the party of the council, speaks of it still more contemptuously: "Inter episcopos cæterosque patres conscriptos vidimus in Basilea coquos et stabularios orbis negotia judicantes," etc. Oratio ad Austriacos, quoted by Giesel. II. iv. 88. Cf. Hefele, vii. 638, 644.

[y] Hard. l. c.; Æn. Sylv. de Conc. Basil. 26, seqq., 36; Raumer, Hist. Taschenb. 1849, pp. 135-40. The cardinal, as reported by Æneas Sylvius (27), points out that the council, far from destroying the powers of bishops, had given them a reality which they had not before.

[z] Hard. ix. 1155.

[a] Ib. viii. 1264; ix. 1156. Æneas Sylvius says Saturday, May 16 (p. 43), and reckons the session as the 33rd.

[b] Æn. Sylv. 43, 45.

[c] Ib. As to the numbers, Æneas Sylvius says that there were no bishops

was once more cited by two bishops;[d] and, as he made no answer, the decree of the council was pronounced — declaring him to be deposed as notoriously, manifestly, and obstinately contumacious, a violator of the canons, guilty of scandal to the whole church, as simoniacal, perjured, incorrigibly schismatic and obstinately heretical, a dilapidator of the church's rights and property, and unfit to administer his office. All faithful Christians were forbidden to adhere to him, and were discharged from all obligations to him.[e] And after the delivery of this sentence, the council chanted a jubilant *Te Deum*.[f]

A few days later, at a general congregation the ambassadors of the emperor and of the French king, to the surprise of the council, expressed their concurrence in the acts of the late session, and made excuses for having absented themselves from it.[g]

In the meantime the temporal affairs of Eugenius had been prosperous. Within a very few months after having expelled him, the Romans found that the government which they themselves had set up was more intolerable than that of the pope; that without him their city was a desert,[h] and having put down the republican magistrates, they requested Eugenius to resume his authority.[i] For the time he preferred to remain at Florence, although they entreated him to return in person;[k] and he employed as his lieutenant John Vitelleschi, bishop of Recanati, whom, in reward of his military services, he afterwards raised to the dignities of cardinal-archbishop of

Oct. 1434.

A.D. 1435-40.

from Spain, only one bishop and an abbot from Italy, and twenty mitred prelates from France and Germany, with 400 "aut certe plures," members of other kinds (43). Augustine Patrizi says 39 mitred prelates, and "not less than 300" of lower rank. Hard. ix. 1256.

[d] Aug. Patric. l. c.

[e] Hard. viii. 1263-4.

[f] Æn. Sylv. 44.

[g] Ib. 44-5.

[h] Id. de Europa, c. 58.

[i] Platina, 298; Infess. in Eccard. ii. 1878; Gregorov. vii. 50.

[k] Jan 1436; Gregorov. vii. 65; Murat. Ann. IX. i. 217.

Florence, and titular patriarch of Alexandria. But, notwithstanding these high spiritual preferments, Vitelleschi was little else than a mere condottiere—rough, ferocious, lustful, cruel, treacherous.[l] In order to establish the pope's authority by depressing the hostile family of Colonna, he laid the Campagna desolate, reduced Palestrina to a ruin more entire than that which had befallen it in earlier destructions, and compelled the inhabitants to seek a refuge elsewhere.[m] Yet the Romans, over whom for five years he exercised a despotic power, willingly bore with his vices and his oppression in consideration of the blessings of peace and steady government, to which they had long been unaccustomed.[n]

At length, however, Vitelleschi's enemies, by representing him as guilty of ambitious designs for himself, succeeded in awakening the pope's suspicions; and by orders from Florence the soldier-cardinal was treacherously arrested on the bridge of St. Angelo. In attempting to escape, he received severe wounds; and it is possible that his death, which took place in prison a fortnight later, may have been caused by these, although he himself suspected poison, and public opinion charged the crime on Eugenius. The patriarch's body, half-naked, was exposed for a time to the insults of the populace in the church of St. Mary sopra Minerva; but it was afterwards removed for burial to Corneto;[o] and

April 2, 1440.

[l] "Homo imperiosus et sævus, et tyrannicam magis quam religiosam vitam præ se ferens . . . homo quidem ad agendas res aptissimus, sed natura sævissimus et immitis." (Platina, 298-9.) Infessura calls him "un huomo diabolico" (1878). Cf. Valla, de Donat. Constant.; Murat. Ann. IX. i. 221; Sism. vi. 351; Milm. vi. 99; Reumont, iii. 92-3, 98; Gregorovius, vii. 49, 79.

[m] Infess. 1879; Platina, 299; Poggius and Fl. Blondus, quoted by Gregorov. vii. 62: Reumont, iii. 94-6; Gregorov. vii. 52, 57-8, 61-2. On one occasion he promised his soldiers 100 days' indulgence for every olive-tree that they should cut down. Gregorov. 65.

[n] Ib. 80; Reumont, iii. 97.

[o] Æn. Sylv. de Europa, c. 58; Hist. Frider. III. in Kollar, Analecta, ii. 134; Infessura, 1881; Platina, 312; Ciacon. ii. 874, 900; Murat. Ann. IX. i. 242; Sism. vi. 375; Reumont, iii. 97; Gregorov. vii. 61, 77-8. Vitelles-

the Romans, whose gratitude had outlasted his death, erected a statue to him as a new founder of their city.[p] Eugenius afterwards disavowed all share in Vitelleschi's death, on the ground that his orders had been misunderstood.[q] Scarampo, who had been the agent in the arrest of the patriarch, succeeded him in his power, and carried on the administration with severity.[r]

Sept. 28, 1443.

In 1443, after an absence of nine years, Eugenius himself returned to Rome. A late increase of taxation, and especially the imposition of a duty on wine, had called forth cries of "Death to the new taxes, and to those who invented them!" and, although these cries were not heard as the pope proceeded from the Flaminian Gate towards the Vatican, the silence of the streets gave token of the popular discontent. Eugenius, on being informed of this feeling, caused it to be announced that the taxes were repealed; and at once he was greeted from all sides by acclamations which accompanied him as far as his palace.[s]

The council of Basel, at its next session after pronouncing the sentence on Eugenius, resolved to allow an interval of sixty days before proceeding to a new election.[t] In the meanwhile a plague broke out in the town, and carried off many of the members, who are said to have professed in their last

Sess. xxxv., July 10, 1439.

chi's palace at Corneto is now an inn. Handbook for Rome, ed. 6, p. 436.

[p] "Tertio a Romulo Urbis Parenti." Ciacon. ii. 900.

[q] Reumont, iii. 98; Gregorov. vii. 81.

[r] See, *e. g.*, Gregorov. vii. 93, as to the punishment of some clergy of the Lateran, who had stolen jewels from the case in which the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul were kept. Scarampo was made a cardinal.

[s] Infess. 1882; Platina, 304; Ciac. ii. 874. During his residence at Florence, Eugenius had consecrated the cathedral, which had been a century and a half in building. Antonin. 527-8; Leon. Aretin. in Murat. xix. 937; Ciac. 888; Reumont, iii. 102.

[t] Hard. viii. 1265.

moments, while holding the holy eucharist in their hands, their firm adherence to the cause of the council, and their conviction that, in order to salvation, it was necessary to abandon the deposed pope.[u] The cardinal of Arles was urged to withdraw from Basel for a time, as the pestilence had shown itself among his household; it was represented to him that he ought to consult his safety for the sake of the interests which depended on his life; but he was resolved "to save the council at the peril of his life, rather than his life at the risk of the council."[x]

After a few weeks the violence of the plague diminished, and those who had left Basel on account of it gradually returned.[y] On the 17th of September was held a session, which is remarkable as having passed a decree in favour of the immaculate conception;[z] although, as the council's authority has been disallowed in the Roman communion, that doctrine was not established as necessary until more than four centuries later.

At the thirty-seventh session, it was resolved to form an electoral college by associating with the cardinal of Arles thirty-two other members of the council, to be chosen out of all the nations and from all classes—bishops, abbots, doctors of theology, canonists, and ordinary clergy.[a] England, which had transferred itself to the rival council,[b] was the only country unrepresented; but Thomas, abbot of Dundrennan, a Cistercian house in the Scottish diocese of Candida Casa, was one of

Oct. 24.

[u] Æn. Sylv. p. 47, who was himself so ill that he received the last sacraments (ib.). See his description of the plague, p. 46. Rinaldi exults in this pestilence as a judgment (1439. 27), but does not discover any such character in the plague which visited the council of Ferrara (1438. 21).

[x] Æn. Sylv. 48. These words seem to belong to the writer himself, not (as is commonly said) to the cardinal.

[y] Ib. 49.

[z] Joh. Segov. l. ix. p. 845; Sess. xxxvi., Hard. viii. 1266; Wadding, xi. 80. See below, chap. viii., iii. 4.

[a] Æn. Sylv. 48, 51, 52; Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1161.

[b] Wilkins, iii. 525. See letters from the king to the council and to the pope, endeavouring to mediate. Bekynton, Nos. 212-13.

three who were named by the council, and to whom the choice of the rest was entrusted.[c] In order to an election, a majority of two-thirds was required.[d] The arrangements for the conclave were carefully made, and, while the election was in suspense, holy relics were displayed, and solemn processions moved about the streets, in order to implore a successful issue.[e]

Nov. 17. On the first day seventeen candidates were brought forward;[f] and on the sixth day the choice of the electors fell, by a majority which had increased in the successive divisions until it included all but seven,[g] on Amadeus, ex-duke of Savoy. This prince, after having for thirty-eight years governed his state with a high reputation,[h] had in 1434 made over the administration to his son, although he still retained a control over the younger duke; and, under the title of dean of St. Maurice, he had become the head of a brotherhood of aged knights, which he founded at Ripaille, on the southern shore of the Lake of Geneva.[i] The character of

[c] Æn. Sylv. 52; Hard. viii. 1278. For Thomas of Dundrennan, see Jos. Robertson, Pref. to Scottish Councils, xcviii. He is mentioned ("abbas quidem Scotus") by Æneas Sylvius as among the most eminent members of the council—"vir subtilis ingenii" (p. 4; cf. 48). He was reckoned among the German nation (Ciacon. ii. 930-1), and had been the bearer of a letter from his sovereign, James I. (Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 615), dated June 22, 1433, excusing himself on the ground of difficulties for having as yet sent no representatives to the council, but promising to send a solemn embassy (cf. Joh. Segov. v. 14). In fulfilment of this promise, the bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Moray, the abbot of Arbroath, and many nobles afterwards appeared at Basel (Joh. Segov. vii. 2, 21); but they had probably withdrawn before the time which we have now reached. (Tytler, iii. 245.) Dean Milman (vi. 134) styles Thomas "abbot of an *obscure* Cistercian convent in Scotland" (vi. 134), and Dr. Grub strangely imagines that the dean could have applied this description to Melrose, with an abbot of which he accordingly identifies the Basel elector (i. 364). There is a letter from Eugenius to the archbishop of St. Andrews, denouncing the Scots who had taken part in the council of Basel after the translation. Rayn. 1440. 2.

[d] Hard. viii. 1269; Æn. Sylv. 58.

[e] Ib. 55-6, 60. [f] Ib. 58.

[g] Aug. Patr. says, 22 out of 29 (Hard. ix. 1166). Others say 26 out of 33. "Et per hunc modum Basilea peperit Basiliscum." Antonin. 525. Cf. Rayn. 1439 34; 1440. 8. [h] Gobellinus, 331.

[i] Wadding, xii. 21-3; Æn. Sylv. 58; Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1166; Oliv. de la Marche, i. 302; Monstrel. vi.

Amadeus, both as prince and as hermit, is highly extolled by Æneas Sylvius;[k] and, although it is probable that the discipline of Ripaille was of no very ascetic kind, the charges of luxury and voluptuousness which have been brought against the society appear to be exaggerations, unsupported by contemporary authority, and swollen by hatred of him as an antipope before they were eagerly turned to account by sceptical writers.[l] There can be no doubt that the council was guided in its choice by a consideration of the duke's powerful connexions, and of the private means which would enable him to support in some degree the papal dignity, although deprived of the territorial revenues and of the other resources which had been commonly attached to it; indeed, these recommendations had been impressed on the electors by the cardinal of Arles, who had also expressed a hope that the new pope might be able, by his power as a secular prince, to recover the possessions of the Roman see.[m] And, although wonder was generally felt that a man of such eminent position should undertake the burden of a contested papacy,[n] it was supposed by some, even in his own time, that his withdrawal from the government of his hereditary state, and his assumption of the character of a hermit, had been prompted by a desire of the doubtful spiritual dignity which he had now attained.[o]

141; Oldoin. in Ciacon. ii. 934; Acta SS., Sept. 22, pp. 372-4. His title was "Decanus militum in solitudine Ripaliæ in humilitatis spiritu Deo famulantium" (Hard. viii. 1283). The number of the hermits is variously given as six and as twelve. St. Maurice was the great local saint of the region. See vol. i. p. 203.

[k] "Cœlibem ac religiose viventem" (De Gestis Conc. Basil. 58); and at p. 59 he speaks of the ex-duke's life as very severe. Cf. De Europa, c. 42, p. 439; Comment. 331-2.

[l] The most respectable authority for this idea, Monstrelet, carries it only a very little way: "Et se faisoient, lui et ses gens, servir au lieu de racines et d'eau fontaine du meilleur vin et des meilleures viandes qu'on pouvoit rencontrer" (vi. 142). See Ciacon. ii. 937; Voigt, 'En. Silvio,' i. 86; Gregorov. vii. 72. For the later developments, see Voltaire, quoted by Schröckh, xxxii. 92-3; Gibbon, vi. 241.

[m] Æn. Sylv. 60.

[n] See Leonard. Aret., quoted by Reumont, III. i. 103.

[o] So Antoninus, 525. "Qui tunc spreto sæculo . . . magis voluptuosam

Amadeus, on receiving a report of his election from a deputation headed by the cardinal of Arles, professed, with tears in his eyes, that he was unwilling to leave his quiet life. But his reluctance, whether real or affected, was at length overcome. He was enthroned in the church of St. Maurice;[p] and, after having gone through other customary formalities, he was crowned at Basel on the 23rd of July 1440. The ceremony was very splendid. The tiara, which was of great magnificence, was placed on the antipope's head by the cardinal of Arles; four other cardinals, who had been promoted by Amadeus himself, assisted, and eight bishops officiated as proxies for cardinals who were absent.[q] The knightly hermits of Ripaille were present to do honour to their chief; but the most remarkable feature in the ceremony was the appearance of the new pope's sons, the duke of Savoy and the count of Geneva, who stood on either side of him, and assisted him at the mass.[r] Although he had stipulated that he should be allowed to retain his own name, and the beard which adorned him as a hermit, he had afterwards yielded to papal precedent in both respects, and styled himself Felix V.[s]

quam pœnitentialem sex viris equestris ordinis, qui secum pœnulam et baculum assumpserant, ut mos est eremitis, vitam degebat . . . Credo, quod post annos octo (?) secutum est, expectans ad summi pontificis cathedram evocari: nam et tunc rumor increbuerat Amadeum papam futurum." (Gobellinus, Commentarii, v. ii. p. 4.) Flavius Blondus says that he had been led "a phytonibus" to expect the papacy, and that his retirement was merely a pretence in order to this; that of the 33 electors 22 were from the duke's territories, and the rest were persons of no account—some of them expelled from their dignities (561). But he brings no charges of unseemly life. Eugenius, in denouncing Felix after his election, says, "Primum nobiscum, ut debuit, contra Basilienses sentiebat, summa devotione, ut ferebatur, incensus." (Rayn. 1439. 36.) Yet it appears that as duke he had encouraged the council in its resistance to Eugenius. (Voigt, i. 87, quoting a letter of Jan. 26, 1432.) There is a letter from Eugenius to him after his retreat, asking his good offices with the council. Rayn. 1435. 7.

[p] Gobellin. 333; Hard. viii. 1283-4.

[q] Aug. Patric. in Hard. ix. 1170; Æn. Sylv. 62.

[r] Ib.

[s] Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1166-7. Julius II. was the first pope for centuries who wore a beard. Clement VII. allowed his beard to grow as a

It soon appeared, however, that the council could expect but little aid in the daring course on which it had ventured. It had already been deserted by many of its most important members; and, although it continued to proceed in disregard both of the violent censures which were denounced against it by Eugenius with his rival council,[t] and of the visible decrease of its own authority, its supporters were limited to Savoy, Switzerland, queen Elizabeth of Hungary (widow of the emperor Albert), a few German princes and towns, a part of the Carthusian order, and the Franciscans of Germany, with some universities of Germany, France, and Poland.[u] The duke of Milan, who had married a daughter of Felix,[x] made overtures for an alliance, but the terms which he proposed were exorbitant, and nothing came of the negotiation.[y] Alfonso of Aragon, who, after much politic hesitation, had given in his adhesion to the council,[z] sided with it for a time in the hope of making good his claim to Naples through its influence.[a] The countenance which the imperial and the French ambassadors had professed to give to the deposition of Eugenius was found to be fallacious. The emperor had written to the council, strongly reprobating the measure, and desiring them to refrain from any attempt to choose a successor;[b] and among the Germans in general the deposition and the election were regarded as acts done in contempt of their own neutrality.[c]

token of grief for the sacking of Rome by the constable de Bourbon. After this, many popes, down to the eighteenth century, appear on their monuments with moustaches and beards; but these are no longer, like that of Julius, of the flowing or "patriarchal" kind. Gregorovius, Gräber d. röm. Päpste, 124.

[t] Hard. ix. 1003 (Aug. 31, 1439); with the council's reply, Oct. 7, viii. 1410, seqq.; Lenf. ii. 44. Eugenius, in order to punish cardinal Allemand, bestowed the archbishoprick of Arles on the bishop of Aix in Provence. Lenf. ib.

[u] Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1168, 1172-3, 1177; Lenf. ii. 50. See Palomar, in Mansi, xxxi. 205.

[x] Art de Vérif. xvii. 267.

[y] Aug. Patr. 1178.

[z] March 8, 1436. Hard. viii. 1636; Giannone, iv. 260; Lenf. ii. 46, 50.

[a] Rayn. 1437. 25; 1441. 16, seqq.

[b] Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1161.

[c] Schröckh, xxxii. 93.

The king of France, on receiving at Bourges a missive from the council, expressed disapproval of its late proceedings; he spoke of Felix by his secular title,[d] and exhorted both him and the council to study the peace of the church.[e] Yet he did not disown the council, nor adhere to the rival assembly of Ferrara.[f] The popularity of the council was not increased in France by its imposing a tax of a fifth for five years, and a tenth for the following five years, on all ecclesiastical benefices which should become vacant; for in this way it was intended to provide Felix with an official income until he should recover the patrimony of the church.[g]

Sess. XLII., Aug. 4, 1440.

The emperor Albert died on the 5th of November 1439,[h] and in his room was elected, as king of the Romans, his cousin Frederick, duke of Styria, a prince of dull and unenterprising character, whose reign extended to fifty-three years.[i] Before his

Feb. 4, 1440.

[d] "M. de Savoye"—"Dominus Sabaudiæ."

[e] Aug. Patr. 1171.

[f] Lenf. ii. 47; Schröckh, xxxii. 94. He seems after a time to have submitted to Eugenius, although maintaining the pragmatic sanction. See Rayn. 1439. 27.

[g] Hard. viii. 1288; Aug. Patric. ib. ix. 1170. The German church was exempt from this impost. (Ib.) Felix and his cardinals quarrelled about the division of it. Ib. 1180.

[h] The Annales Novesienses [of Nuys, near Düsseldorf] says that he was poisoned by the archbishop of Gran. Mart. Coll. Ampl. iv. 603.

[i] Schmidt, iv. 223; Chmel, ii. 10. Frederick is variously reckoned as the third, the fourth, and the fifth of his name. (See Müller, Reichstagstheatrum, 11.) Of his character Albert Krantz says, "Erat ille Fabio Maximo propior quam Scipioni, multa reponens in cunctatione; nihil illi de celeritate conficiendæ rei." (Saxonia, 304.) Yet he was not without ability, and Æneas Sylvius, in his 'Commentaries,' cites many of the emperor's sayings. (Cf. Freher, ii. 178.) Comines says, "L'empereur estoit de très-petit cœur, et enduroit toutes choses pour ne despendre rien," and styles him "le plus parfaitement chiche homme que prince n'y autre qui ait esté de nostre temps." (Ed. Petitot, Mémoires, xii. 98, 337; cf. 117.) In truth his want of money was the real excuse for much that seemed mean and greedy in him. (Schmidt, iv. 343-6; Coxe, i. 311.) Mr. Hallam is very severe on Frederick (i. 496). Chmel ('Friedr. IV.') makes the best of him. There is an elaborate character in Ranke's Hist. of the Reformation (tr. by Mrs. Austin, i. 101-5), in which his fundamental good sense and his tenacity of purpose are especially noticed. (Cf. Palacky, IV. ii. 66.)

promotion Frederick had been favourable to the council,[k] so that both the members of it and pope Felix had hopes of drawing him into their interest by the offer of the imperial crown.[l] The question between the pope and the council was discussed at three German diets by representatives of the opposite parties. At the second of these diets, in 1441,[m] the archbishop of Palermo exerted himself with all his powers to show that the council was still of full authority, and that it had been justified in all its measures. But Nicolas of Cusa asserted the cause of Eugenius with great force. Only seven bishops, he said, had voted for the deposition of the pope, whereas not less than twelve were requisite to depose a simple bishop.[n] And he was able to allege the success of Eugenius in reconciling the Greeks and other orientals—a success which, however unsubstantial and transitory (as we shall see hereafter), told powerfully for the time as a token of the Divine favour.[o] It was proposed that another general council should be summoned, and in the meantime Germany was to persevere in its neutrality.[p]

The council continued to decline in numbers and in authority. The members wasted much of their time in discreditable squabbles.[q] At the forty-third session, where Felix presided, a decree was passed for celebrating the Visitation of the blessed Virgin (July 2)—a festival which had been instituted by Urban

July 1, 1441.

[k] Schmidt, ii. 266.

[l] Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1167.

[m] The clergy and citizens of Mentz declared their resolution to be neutral by refusing to admit Felix's representatives, except on condition that they should lay aside the legatine insignia. (Ib. 1184, 1275.) To this time belongs a request of the council to the king of England, that he would support it, and would receive its decrees—as, it is said, the king of the Romans, the German electors, etc., had done. Bekynton, No. 223.

[n] Aug. Patr. 1175. See his views in a letter to the Castilian ambassador (May 20, 1442), Opera, 825-9.

[o] See Aug. Patr. 1185; Lenf. ii. 71-4; Schmidt, iv. 228; Schröckh, xxxii. 98-102; Milm. vi. 137.

[p] Cochl. 327; Lenf. ii. 62; Schmidt, iv. 229; Schröckh, xxxii. 100.

[q] Lenf. ii. 62.

VI. and confirmed by Boniface IX., but had never been sanctioned by the popes of the Avignon line. As a motive for this decree, it was said that the Virgin's intercession was especially needed in the disunited condition of the church.[r]

On the 11th of November, Frederick appeared at Basel. He was received by Felix (with whom he had before had an interview at Susa), and by nine of his cardinals; but, although he behaved with great respect to the antipope, his treatment of him was marked by an avowed reserve. Instead of the titles of *Holiness* and *Beatitude*, the bishop of Chiemsee, who spoke in the emperor's name, was instructed to address Felix as *Your Clemency* and *Your Benignity;* and he explained that the emperor refrained from showing the usual marks of reverence, in order that he might preserve his neutrality, and so might be better fitted to act as a mediator and a peacemaker. To this Felix replied that he took all in good part, and he protested that he had not accepted the papacy from motives of ambition, but solely in the hope of comforting the church in her affliction.[s]

Felix, under the plea of illness, withdrew from Basel to Lausanne, promising to return in the following spring; but he never fulfilled this promise, nor perhaps was he ever asked to fulfil it.[t]

The council continued to sink, and was especially weakened by losing the support of Alfonso of Aragon. Joanna II. of Naples, at her death, in February 1435, had left her kingdom to René, the brother of Lewis of Anjou, who had died in the preceding year.[u] The pope, who had affected to treat Naples as a fief which had lapsed to the Roman see, was disposed to favour

[r] Hard. viii. 1292; ix. 1178-9; Lenf. i. 62; Schröckh, xxxii. 101.

[s] Aug. Patr. 1188.

[t] Ib.; Schröckh, xxxii. 104.

[u] Rayn. 1434. 38; Giann. iv. 223; Sism. vi. 323. See Hallam, M.A. i. 351-4.

René's interest;[x] while Alfonso still maintained his pretensions, and advanced fresh claims as the heir of king Manfred and of the Hohenstaufen.[y] But in 1443 Eugenius found it expedient to abandon René, who, through want of sufficient means, had been unsuccessful in his attempts. After stipulations on both sides,[z] Alfonso received from Rome a bull of investiture in the Neapolitan kingdom;[a] and in consideration of this he agreed to forsake the council of Basel, and to withdraw his bishops from it—among them the formidable Nicolas of Palermo, who thereupon gave up the insignia of the cardinalate, to which he had been promoted by Felix.[b] July 13, 1443.

The forty-fifth session was held on the 16th of June 1443, when Lyons was chosen as the place of the next general council; and, although the council of Basel declared itself to be still in existence, it never met again.[c]

The authority of this assembly has been variously estimated within the Roman communion. The more moderate divines in general acknowledge its ecumenical character as far as the twenty-sixth session—*i.e.*, until the time when Eugenius proposed to transfer it to Ferrara.[d] But the advanced Gallicans maintain its authority throughout; and by the more extreme Romanists it is altogether disavowed.[e]

[x] Rayn. 1435. 13, 15; 1443. 7.

[y] Sism. vi. 323.

[z] Rayn. 1443. 1-5; 1445. 1, seqq.

[a] Ib. 1443. 6-7, seqq.; Æn. Sylv. de Europa, c. 65; Giann. iv. 263; Sism. v. 416-19.

[b] Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1193-4; Schröckh, xxxii. 79; Lenf. ii. 81-2. Æneas Sylvius says, "Illum non quippe voluntas, sed sola necessitas principem fecerat, eumque obedire principi suo oportebat." (De Gestis Conc. Bas. 42; cf. 43.) The archbishop died of plague, in 1445. Herzog, art. *Panormitanus*.

[c] Hard. viii. 1301-2; Lenf. ii. 84

[d] See Giesel. II. iv. 52 (who, however, somewhat misrepresents Bellarmin.)

[e] There is a short dissertation against it, by L. Holstenius, in Labbe's 'Concilia,' xiii. 1659-60. Clement XIV. censured the maintenance of the council until its twenty-sixth session as an error. In a Roman edition of the councils it is altogether omitted. See Giesel. II. iv. 52.

We may now turn to the history of the council which had been summoned by Eugenius with a view to the union of the Greek and the Latin churches.[f] Although the old dislike of the Greeks for the Latins had rather been increased than lessened by all earlier negotiations for this purpose, their danger from the Turks, which continually became more urgent, compelled them to fresh attempts to gain assistance from the west throughout the reign of Manuel.[g] His son, John Palæologus II., who succeeded to the throne in 1425, had been advised by him to look towards the west for support,[h] and endeavoured to act on this policy. He had visited western Europe in 1423, for the purpose of begging assistance,[i] and he appears to have even entertained the idea of succeeding Sigismund as emperor of the west, and of thus reuniting both the empire and the church.[k]

In the course of his communications with pope Martin, the emperor signified his readiness to attend a general council (although his father had warned him against such a measure),[l] and, in consequence of an invitation from the council of Basel, some representatives of the Greeks, headed by the protovestiary Demetrius Palæologus, appeared at Basel in 1434.[m] The council, in return, sent

[f] See the 'Vera Historia Unionis non veræ, seu Concilii Florentini exactissima Narratio,' by Syropulus (or, as the editor calls him, Sguropulus), edited by Creyghton, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells, with a very free translation, Hagæ Comitis, 1660; 'Hist. of the Council of Florence, from the Russian,' by B. Popoff, ed J. M. Neale, Lond. 1861. Cass, author of the article *Syropulus* in Herzog, thinks, in opposition to Allacci, that Creyghton's form of the name, Σγουρόπουλος, is probably right. Allacci began on a very great scale a book of animadversions on Creyghton, but published only one part, consisting of about 750 pages. Ep. Hefele is very severe both on Syropulus and on his editor. vii. 667-8.

[g] *E.g.*, Rayn. 1420. 27; 1422. 2, seqq.

[h] See G. Phranza, ii. 13, p. 178, ed. Bonn; Gibbon, vi. 228; Ffoulkes, ii. 316.

[i] Rayn. 1423. 26; Eberh. Windeck, in Mencken, i. 1170.

[k] He professed to have received from Sigismund himself a promise to secure the succession for him. Syropulus, ii. 34, p. 36. [l] Phranza, l. c.

[m] Syropulus, ii. 21; Hard. viii. 1185-6, 1188, 1626; Joh. Segov. ix. 3; Rayn. 1433. 28; 1434. 15; Martene, Coll. Ampl. viii. 738, etc.

John of Ragusa and others to Constantinople;[n] but, besides the necessary difficulties of the case, it was found that the breach between the pope and the council—authorities which the Greeks had supposed to be in unison with each other—introduced an extraordinary perplexity into the negotiations.[o] July 1.

There was much discussion as to the place where the intended council should meet. The Greeks at Basel objected to that city as being too remote for the attendance of their countrymen, who supposed it to be beyond the Pillars of Hercules.[p] They desired that some more accessible place in Italy or elsewhere should be fixed on; and the emperor urged this especially on the ground of the patriarch's age and infirmity,[q] while the fathers of Basel (as has been related) suggested Avignon by way of compromise.[r]

An indiscreet expression, that the council had endeavoured to put down the old separation of the Greeks as well as the new separation of the Bohemians, was studiously circulated in exaggerated terms, with the intention of exasperating the Greeks.[s] The envoys of the council at Constantinople threw the blame on the mistake of a scribe; but the Greeks would not accept this explanation.[t] The emperor, however, interposed by remarking that it did not matter what the Latins might say or boast among themselves, if they would forward the pacification

[n] Martene, Coll. Ampl. viii. 820; Hard. viii. 1496. See Mansi, in Rayn. ix. 193.

[o] See Bekynton, Nos. 208-9 Hefele, vii. 535, seqq.

[p] Hard. viii. 1186; see Rayn. 1437, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 231.

[q] Letter of Nov. 26, 1435, in Hard. viii. 1634.

[r] Ib. 1186, 1210, 1212, 1379, etc.; Syrop. ii. 31; Rayn. 1436. 11-13; Joh. Segov. Books ix., x., xi.; Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 673, 684, etc. See p. 72.

[s] "Illud recens Bohemorum, antiquumque Græcorum *dissidium* prorsus extinguere." (Sess. xix., Sept. 7, 1434, Hard. viii. 1185; cf. 1492.) In the Greek misrepresentation the word became αἵρεσιν. (Syrop. ii. 28.) "At all events, the comparison of the Greeks with the Hussites, in point of heresy, was justly a matter of offence to all the orthodox." (Popoff and Neale, 24.) See the letter of John of Ragusa, Mansi, xxix. 652-3 (Feb. 9, 1436).

[t] Syrop. ii. 29.

of the church; that he hoped to see the expression in question, and any other faulty language, amended in the general council; and at length the Latin envoys appeased the outcry by withdrawing the offensive words.[u]

The project of a conference with the Greeks afforded Eugenius (as we have seen) a pretext for ordering the translation of the council from Basel to Ferrara;[x] and, as the breach became wider, each party used the most strenuous efforts to secure the expected visitors. Missions were sent by both to the emperor and to the patriarch; rival funds were raised to meet the expenses of the Greeks, and for this purpose the council engaged in a sale of indulgences;[y] rival fleets were hired at Venice and Marseilles, and were despatched for their conveyance;[z] and it was not without difficulty that the emperor was able, by threats and absolute prohibitions, to prevent these from fighting within sight of Constantinople, as the pope's admiral, his nephew cardinal Francis Condolmieri, declared that he was instructed to sink and destroy the ships of the council's fleet.[a] The two legates vied with each other in offers of money,[b] although the patriarch Joasaph protested that, if the Latins were allowed to pay the expenses of the Greeks, these would be unable to maintain their independence.[c] But the pope's emissaries (among whom was Nicolas of Cusa)[d] were perhaps less scrupulous in intrigue than their opponents,[e]

[u] Syrop. ii. 33-4, 38.

[x] See above, p. 72. He professed to have urged the Greek question on the council of Constance, and on his predecessor. Rayn. 1437. 8.

[y] Joh. Segov. x. 6-7. See p. 72.

[z] At the 29th session of Basel, Oct. 12, 1437, the pope was attacked for his dealings with the Greeks. (Hard. viii. 1238. See L. Chalcocond. 152.; Rayn. 1437. 11, seqq.; Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 763, 895; Hard. viii. 1187, 1256; ix. 683, 687, 693, 1138, etc.; Joh. Segov. x. 22; Ffoulkes, ii. 321, seqq.) Andrew of Santa Croce professes to believe that the council's ships (which were at Marseilles) were intended "non ut Græcos ducerent, sed ut eos a veniendo averterent." Hard. ix. 740.

[a] Syropul. iii, 11. [b] Ib. 12.

[c] Ib. ii. 18. [d] Hard. ix. 683.

[e] See the complaints of the council, ib. 1239, 1259. Platina says that Eugenius corrupted the commander of the Marseilles fleet, which the council had engaged. 300.

and succeeded in gaining their object. On the 29th of November 1437, the emperor and the patriarch, with twenty-two bishops and a great train of ecclesiastics, set sail on board the Venetian ships provided by the pope. The patriarch, in defiance of the remonstrances of his clergy, took with him the precious gold and silver vessels of St. Sophia's; the emperor and his court were splendidly equipped at the cost of the church's treasures,[f] which he had seized for the purpose; and, with a view to controversial use, the theologians were furnished with a large collection of books.[g] By those who expected no good result from the expedition, an earthquake which occurred immediately after the emperor's embarkation, two days earlier, had been regarded as a token of the Divine anger.[h] After a tedious voyage, varied by occasional landings and residences on shore,[i] the Greeks—more than 500 in all[k]—arrived at Venice on the 8th of February, and were received with much splendour, although the ceremony was somewhat marred by rain.[l] The magnificence of the great trading city appears to have impressed them as deeply as in an earlier age the companions of Henry Dandolo had been impressed by the glories of Constantinople:[m] "Of it," says a Greek, "I suppose the prophet to speak, 'God hath founded it upon the seas, and prepared it upon the floods.'"[n] The riches of St. Mark's church were seen with a strong and peculiar interest, as being derived in great measure from the plunder of the Byzantine sanctuaries in that crusade which for a time had subjected the

A.D. 1438.

[f] Syrop. iii. 17-18.

[g] Ambros. Camald. Ep. xix. 36, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iii.

[h] Syrop. iv.

[i] At Cursoli, one of their landing-places, they were informed of Sigismund's death. Ib. 9.

[k] Leon. Aret. in Murat. xix. 940.

[l] Syrop. iv. 13; Phranza, ii. 17; Andr. S. Cruc. in Hard. ix. 741-2.

[m] See vol. vi. p. 68.

[n] Hard. ix. 4; cf. Phranza, ii. 14; Syrop. iv. 16, etc. It is quite clear from the narratives that the west had become more splendid than the east. See, as to the vessel in which the emperor was towed to Ferrara, Phranza, ii. 17.

cast to Latin emperors.[o] On the other hand, a Greek tells us that the Venetians crowded to the religious services of the strangers, declaring that, so long as they had not seen Greeks, they had supposed them to be barbarians, but that they now knew them to be the first-born of the church, and that the Holy Spirit spoke in them.[p] At Venice, the Greeks became fully informed of the hostility which had arisen between the pope and the council of Basel.[q] Their first inclination was to join the council, while the doge advised them to remain at Venice, so as to hold the balance between the parties.[r] But at length they decided on accepting the pope's invitation, partly in consequence of the advice of cardinal Cesarini, who happened opportunely to pass through Venice after having forsaken Basel for Ferrara.[s] The emperor wrote to the council of Basel, exhorting its members to join the new assembly.[t]

On reaching Ferrara, it was found that there were deep questions of etiquette to be settled, as, indeed, the Greeks had in some degree been already apprised.[u] The emperor was received by Eugenius standing, and, after having kissed his hand, was about to throw himself at his feet, when the pope prevented the act, and seated him at his own left hand, which the emperor reverently kissed.[x] But the patriarch, who had declared at Venice that he would deal with the pope only as an equal in rank,[y]—as a father, a brother, or a son, according as their respective ages might determine,—was told, both on the way and by a deputation which greeted him on his arrival, that he would be required to kiss the pope's foot. His natural indignation at this was increased by the fact that the

Mar. 12.

[o] Syrop. iv. 16.
[p] Ducas, 119.
[q] Leon. Aret. in Murat. xix. 939.
[r] Syrop. iv. 15.
[s] Ib. 17. See above, pp. 73-4.
[t] Hard. ix. 15, 1143.
[u] Phranza, ii. 15.
[x] Ib.; Hard. ix. 8.
[y] Syrop. iv. 19.

members of the deputation were not, in his opinion, of sufficient dignity to be employed by the pope on such a commission. Long and lively discussions arose; but at length the patriarch, by firmly refusing the degrading obeisance, was able to get himself excused.[a] More, however, remained behind. The patriarch was told that he could not be allowed a higher rank than that of the cardinals, who (it was said) took precedence even of the western emperor; and, although he had hoped that his own sovereign might receive from the spectacle of the pope's grandeur a wholesome lesson as to the relations of the spiritual and the secular powers, he was not prepared for this.[a] At the solemn reception in the church of St. George, and afterwards at the sessions of the council, while the pope occupied the central seat, the emperor of the Romæans[b] (as he was styled), who had supposed the place of highest dignity to be due to himself, was seated at a lower level, in a chair corresponding to the vacant chair of the western emperor, and the patriarch was on an equality with the cardinals.[c] At every possible point, and on every possible occasion, the battle of ceremony was renewed, to the irritation both of the eastern clergy and of the emperor.[d]

The council had been opened by the cardinal-legate Albergati on the 8th of January, and the pope had been at Ferrara from the 27th of that month.[e] But the Greeks were much disappointed by the scanty numbers of the assembly, and it was agreed that an interval of four months should be allowed to pass before the beginning of the formal sessions, in the hope that, by despatching

[a] Syrop. iv. 19-21.

[a] Schrockh, xxxiv. 390; Gibbon, vi. 232.

[b] "Romæorum"—the western emperor being emperor of the Romans.

[c] Syrop. vi. 16, 22, 27; Hard. ix. 9, 12. Something, however, was afterwards gained—*e.g.*, that the patriarch's chair should have a purple covering, like the pope's. Hard. ix. 25.

[d] Syrop. iv. 14; vi. 15-17, 22, etc.

[e] Hard. ix. 710, 721. Rayn. 1438. 1-3.

envoys to the princes of the west, the council might induce these to send representatives.[f] The Greeks, in the meanwhile, indulged in the fancy that the fathers of Basel were to be added to those of Ferrara.[g]

While waiting for the result, the emperor withdrew to a monastery some miles from the city, where he devoted himself to sporting in a style which both injured the cultivators of the soil and disgusted the owner, the marquis of Ferrara.[h]

During this delay the ecclesiastics who were at Ferrara engaged twice a week in skirmishes on the points in dispute between the churches,[i] and for these encounters twelve champions were selected on each side. Among the Greeks, the most eminent were Marcus Eugenicus, archbishop of Ephesus, and proxy for the patriarch of Antioch,[k] and Bessarion, archbishop of Nicæa—both lately promoted to the episcopate, with a view to the discussion with the Latins.[l]

Contrary to the usual custom of the Greeks, the emperor would not allow laymen of high rank to take any part in the disputation,—professing that such matters were for ecclesiastics only, but really from a wish to keep the management in his own hands, and to make the clergy answerable for any failure.[m] Among the Latins, the most conspicuous disputants were cardinal Julian

[f] Syrop. iv. 27; Hard. ix. 10; Gibbon, vi. 235.

[g] Rayn. 1438 15.

[h] The marquis Nicolas III., the Azo of Byron's 'Parisina' (Gibbon, Misc. Works, 830, ed. 1837; see Chalcocondylas, 152-4; Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 615, A.D. 1425), behaved with hospitality and respect, but his courteous request that the emperor would refrain from utterly destroying the game, with which the lands had been stocked at great expense of money and care, was altogether disregarded. (Syrop. vi. 2, 7; vii. 4.) The farmers complained loudly, but in vain (vii. 4). At last, however, the emperor was frightened away from the place by a disturbance which arose out of another cause. Ib. 5.

[i] Hard. ix. 17.

[k] The archbishop had made a difficulty as to accepting this commission, which he regarded as beneath the dignity of his see. Syrop. iv. 29.

[l] Ib. iii. 25; Chalcocond. 155; Hard. ix. 755.

[m] Syrop. vi. 1-4.

Cesarini and John, provincial of the Dominicans in Lombardy.[n] It is said that the saintly Bernardine of Siena, by prayer for the Divine assistance, was enabled to dispute fluently in Greek, without any previous knowledge of the language.[o] The roughness of Mark of Ephesus contrasted so unfavourably with the graceful and persuasive oratory of Cesarini, that it was sometimes necessary for the Greeks to substitute Bessarion as their advocate; yet Cesarini's copiousness was sometimes found to be wearisome,[p] and Syropulus (who probably expresses the opinion of his countrymen) tells us that, although the cardinal was the more eloquent, the archbishop of Ephesus was the stronger and the more solid.[q] Cesarini endeavoured, as at Basel, to employ hospitality as a means of conciliation and persuasion; but when the patriarch became aware of this, he forbade his clergy to accept the cardinal's invitations.[r] The difficulties of language were smoothed by the skill of Nicolas Secondino, a native of Negropont, who interpreted the speeches on both sides.[s]

The Latins supposed the Greeks to be heretical on no less than fifty-four points;[t] but the chief subjects of discussion were limited to four—(1) The procession of the Holy Ghost; (2) purgatory; (3) the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the eucharist; and (4) the primacy of the pope. But the Greeks felt that they were not at liberty. The emperor, in his zeal for union (or rather

[n] Syrop. v. 16; Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1139. This John is by some described as a Spaniard. Others call him of Ragusa or Montenegro, and hence he has been wrongly identified with John Stojkovic (see p. 42). See Quétif-Echard, i. 799-801; Hefele, vii. 681.

[o] Acta SS., Mai. 20, p. 311.

[p] Hard. ix. 1168; Syrop. vi. 21, viii. 10.

[q] Ib. v. 5-6; vi. 6, 21.

[r] Ib. v. 2. Syropulus himself suffered by this restriction.

[s] Life of Cesarini, in Ughelli, iii. 677. In answer to the compliments of Cesarini and another cardinal, the interpreter ascribed his success to the grace of the Holy Spirit, who was the subject of discussion. (Andr. S. Cruc. in Hard. ix. 761.) See Tirab. VI. ii. 107.

[t] Syrop. vi. 4.

for the material gain which he expected from union)[a] kept a strong hold over them. No one was allowed to leave the town without a passport;[x] and measures were taken to prevent them from privately returning to Constantinople, and for the severe punishment of any who should make the attempt.[y] A plague broke out, and alarmed them greatly, although the sufferers were almost exclusively either Latins or followers of the patriarch of Russia, Isidore, a Greek by birth, who reached Ferrara in August, with a great train of horses.[z] A rumour that the sultan Amurath was about to attack Constantinople excited them to press for immediate aid; but all that the emperor's importunity could obtain from the pope was a promise of two small vessels[b]—a promise which was never fulfilled.[b]

But more than all other distresses, that of subsistence pressed heavily on the Greeks. They had been annoyed by finding that, instead of an allowance in money for this purpose, rations were doled out to them;[c] but now the supply became irregular, and the reason of this was not to be mistaken. The allowance fell more than four months into arrear, and applications or complaints were treated with rudeness.[d] Many were obliged to sell their property, and even to pledge their clothes, for the sake of food.[e] The plaint were supplied, while the more stubborn were reduced to misery by hunger, and when they had thus been brought to concession, they were rewarded with money and provisions.[f]

The first question which was debated was that of pur

[a] We can by no means trust the Ferrarese diarist's representation—"Dicto Imperadore venne per veder se la sua fede era megliore de la nostra." Murat. xxiii. 188.

[x] Syropulus speaks of the system of passports as an established western custom, which the emperor took up on arriving at Ferrara. vi. 1.

[y] Ib. 1, 8; Gibbon, vi. 236.

[z] Andr. S. Cruc. in Hard. ix. 755; Syrop. vi. 3, 5.

[a] Κάτεργα.

[b] Syrop. v. 10, 12.

[c] Ib. iv. 28. See Gibbon, vi. 239, n.

[d] Syrop. v. 9; vi. 20.

[e] Ib. 19.

[f] Ib. *passim*.

gatory. As to this, the Latins maintained that, while souls free from stain, such as June 4, seqq. those of the saints, go immediately after death into bliss, and while the souls of those who die in mortal sin go into eternal torments, the intermediate class—the souls of those who have repented, and have died in the enjoyment of the church's rites, yet whose sins, committed after baptism, have not been fully done away with in this life,—must undergo a cleansing by purgatorial fire, which will be longer or shorter according to the character of their guilt; that in this state they may be assisted by masses and alms; and that, having been thus purified, they will enter into the happiness of the saints.[g] The Greeks, on the other hand, held that purgatory is not a place of fire, but that its suffering consists in darkness, gloom, and exclusion from the Divine presence.[h]

On this subject the discussion was long protracted, and the arguments of Mark and Bessarion, on the Greek side, were fused into a treatise by Gemistius, under whom both the archbishops had formerly studied.[i]

The first regular session of the council was on the 8th of October, when disputants were chosen by each side, and Bessarion made a long speech, to which the archbishop of Rhodes replied at similar length at the next meeting.[k] At the third session, the subject of the Oct. 14. procession of the Holy Spirit was brought forward. The discussion turned mainly on the question whether the article of the procession from the Son were an addition to the creed, of such a kind as to contravene the decree of the general council of Ephesus, which had forbidden the making of any new creed other than that of the Nicene council[l]—or whether (as the Latins contended) it were merely a legitimate explanation.[m]

[g] Syrop. v. 13; Hard. ix. 16.
[h] Ib. 20.
[i] Syrop. v. 14; see Jenkins, 283; Popoff, 50-1.
[k] Hard. ix. 25-36, 755, seqq.
[l] Can. 7.
[m] Hard. ix. 36, seqq.

On this question the dispute was carried on until the fifteenth session (Dec. 8), without any approach to agreement. The Latins were unable to trace the interpolation higher than the age of Charlemagne,[n] although they produced a canon of a council at Toledo, anathematizing all who should refuse it; and they wished to discuss the article on its merits. To this the Greek emperor was willing to agree, as were also Bessarion and the primate of Russia;[o] and the great majority of the assembly voted for it,[p] although the patriarch objected that, as the Latins were obstinate on the question of the verbal addition, they would probably be found yet more intractable on the question of the truth of doctrine.[q]

At the fifteenth session, the pope signified his intention of transferring the council to Florence.[r] For this the prevailing sickness gave a pretext, although it had already begun to subside.[s] But the Greeks, supposing that the translation was intended as a means of bringing them more under the pope's control, made vehement objections; some of them, among whom was Mark of Ephesus, attempted to abscond.[t] The emperor endeavoured to soothe them;[u] the pope told them that in consequence of the occupation of his territory by Piccinino, he was deprived of the means of entertaining them, but that they might be assured of receiving splendid hospitality from the Florentines.[x] As their allowance was now five months in arrear, this argument told powerfully on them; and when they consented to the removal of the council, they were rewarded by the payment of a part of what was due to them.[y] On the 16th of January

Dec. 8.

[n] Hard. ix. 68, 92; Syrop. vi. 19, 20.
[o] Ib. 23; vii. 7, 10.
[p] Ib. 8.
[q] Ib. 10.
[r] Hard. ix. 172.
[s] See ib. 24, 178, 858, 860, etc.; Ffoulkes, ii. 346.
[t] Syrop. vi. 24; vii. 1.
[u] Ib. 12.
[x] Mark of Ephesus pledged his mitre to the Florentines for a large sum, that he might be able to maintain the Greeks; and the Florentines offered an equal sum if the council might be translated. Gennadius, in Rayn. 1437. 20.
[y] Syrop. vii. 12; Hard. ix. 173, 177

1439, the pope left Ferrara in state—the marquis of Ferrara holding his rein ;[z] the Greeks followed, although unwillingly ; and, after having been exposed to some dangers on the way, through the disturbed state of the country,[a] they reached Florence on the 13th of February, and were received with great demonstrations of honour.[b]

Early in March the debates as to the procession of the Holy Ghost were resumed ; and the question was now discussed on its merits.[c] The decision, however, was to rest on the authority of the Greek fathers only, as the Greeks refused to know anything of the Latin ecclesiastical writers.[d] But there was much suspicion as to some of the authorities which were produced on the Latin side.[e] And a fierce dispute was carried on as to a passage of St. Basil ; for the Greeks asserted that this was corrupt in the copies used by the Latins, and, although they admitted that the text was the same in some copies at Constantinople, they said that the best manuscripts were without the words on which the Latins relied.[f]

While the Latins were united among themselves, differences of opinion became manifest among the Greeks,[g] and a jealousy which had early appeared between the archbishops of Ephesus and Nicæa[h] broke out into violent quarrels. Mark of Ephesus was vehement in the assertion of the Greek doctrine, and declared that all who held the

[z] Hard. ix. 177.

[a] There was ground for the words used by the members of the Basel council against its transference :—"Italia tota ardet guerris, omnis gleba suos habet armigeros et prælones, et vix simplices viatores secure transire possunt." Ib. viii. 1342.

[b] Ib. ix. 177 ; Syrop. viii. 15.

[c] Hard. ix. 189, 863.

[d] Ib. 870, seqq. ; Syrop. viii. 15. See, however, Hard. ix. 579, 931, etc.

[e] Ib. 1058, etc.

[f] Ib. 225, seqq., 273, seqq. Bessarion afterwards maintained the genuineness of the passage (Adv. Eunomium, iii. 1), and that the copies in which it was wanting were corrupted —in some cases by visible obliteration. (Ib. 1046-9.) But, although we might reasonably suppose that the Greeks omitted, rather than that the Latins interpolated (and this is Bp. Hefele's opinion (vii. 701), the account given by Garnier (ap. Basil. t. i. p. 272) of the MSS. which he had consulted makes the matter very doubtful.

[g] Hard. ix. 377. [h] Syrop. v. 15-16.

double procession were not only schismatics but heretics.[1] Bessarion was more artful and more conciliatory, maintaining that the difference between the churches was one of expression only—not of doctrine,[k]—and drawing distinctions of meaning between the prepositions which had been used in speaking of the procession.[l] The two became excited. Bessarion spoke of Mark as possessed and mad—an imputation which was seconded by a rumour industriously spread,[m] while the archbishop of Ephesus retorted by styling his opponent a bastard and an apostate,[n] and at last withdrew from the sessions.[o]

The pope reproached the Greeks for wasting their time.[p] The emperor exerted himself in all possible ways to put a pressure on the divines of his church.[q] The system of withholding supplies was employed anew and with increased effect; money, skilfully given when the receivers had been reduced to actual hunger, exercised a powerful influence on their opinions;[r] nor was more direct bribery wanting.[s] Under these various influences, the labours of the council for union made progress. The twenty fifth and last session was held on the 24th of March, when the emperor summed up the discussion on the question of the procession by saying that the Greeks had their creed from Scripture and the ecumenical councils, without addition or diminution, but that the Latin

[1] Hard. ix. 313.

[k] Ib. 313, 320.

[l] Ἐκ and διά. See Hard. ix. 586, seqq.; Syrop. ix. 4.

[m] Ib. 2, 6. Mark was subject to epileptic fits. Hard. ix. 551.

[n] Ὡὐ ὑπάρχειν κοπέλιν, καὶ ἐποίησαν ὡς κοπέλιν. (Syrop. ix. 6.) Creyghton's translation of this is very ample: —"Ego te non minus despicor, Nicæne, progenitum semine meretricio, quo natus, qui natalis solum et mulieris pectoris delectus non cohonestasti."

[o] Hard. ix. 578.

[p] Ib. 316; Syrop. x. 1.

[q] Syrop. *passim*. *E.g.*, his rebuke of the bishop of Heraclea, viii. 5; ix. 1-3, etc.; Ptoulkes, ii. 353. When the emperor made a speech in favour of union, a favourite dog, who lay at his feet, began to howl, and continued to accompany him throughout. Syrop. iv. 10.

[r] Ib. viii. 6; ix. 1-2; x. 3-4; Hard. ix. 595.

[s] Fl. Blondus, Decad. p. 551. Allatius fiercely defends the proceedings at Florence against all charges of unfairness, corruption, etc. De Eccl. Orient. et Occid. Perpet. Consensione, l. ii. cc. 1, seqq.

addition was agreeable to the teaching of the Scriptures; that, as the Greeks would not receive the addition, and the Latins refused to alter it, he would leave the pope to devise terms of union; otherwise the Greeks would return home.[t]

Ten representatives of each side were appointed to draw up a form of union; and after much lively argument and the rejection of many proposed schemes, a definition was at length agreed on—being framed in Latin by Ambrose Traversari, head of the Camaldolite order, and rendered into Greek by Bessarion.[u] (1.) The question as to the procession of the Holy Ghost was compromised on the ground that the Greeks, by speaking of Him as proceeding from the Father, did not exclude the Son, but only intended to guard against the opinion which they had supposed the Latins to entertain, of the Spirit's proceeding as if from two Principles; and that, as the Latins disavowed this, the two churches really held the same truth under different forms of expression. (2.) As to the question of leavened or unleavened bread in the eucharist, it was decreed that the sacrament may be consecrated in either kind, and that each of the churches may retain its own custom. (3.) It is affirmed that souls whose sins have not been fully expiated in this life are purified by purgatorial pains after death, and that they may be aided by masses, prayers, alms, and other works of piety; but as to the nature of purgatory nothing is defined against the opinion of either church. (4.) The Roman pontiff is declared to have the primacy of the whole world,[x] as being the successor of St. Peter, who was chief of the apostles and true vicar of Christ; and that to him, in St. Peter, was given by the Saviour "full power of tending,

[t] Hard. ix. 317-20.

[u] Ib. 377, 401, seqq.; Andr. S. Cruc. ib. 954, seqq.; Syrop. viii. 12, seqq.

[x] "These words are not found in the Greek version of the official copy of the decree sent to England. MS. Cotton, Cleop. E. iii. 78." Ffoulkes, ii. 363; cf. 481, seqq.

directing, and governing the church, according as is contained both in the acts of the ecumenical councils and in the sacred canons."[y] The other patriarchal sees—Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem—were to hold the same order as of old, "to wit, with all their privileges and rights preserved."[z]

Although, however, the substance of the definition was settled, there remained irritating questions of form. Was the name of the emperor or that of the pope to stand first? Was the pope alone to be mentioned, or were the other patriarchs to have a like honour? And for two days the conclusion was delayed by a dispute whether the word "all" should be inserted in the reservation of the rights of oriental patriarchs. The pope was able to carry the question of precedence over the emperor, and the word "all" was at length conceded to the Greeks.[a]

The patriarch Joasaph, who had throughout exerted himself in favour of union,[b] died after a long illness on the 10th of June; and the Greeks became more eager than before to return to their own country.[c]

By degrees all the Greek bishops were brought over with

[y] "Quemadmodum *et* in gestis œc. conciliorum et in sacris canonibus continetur." The common reading has *etiam* for *et*, as if the following words were merely a confirmatory reference; but Launoy shows, from Blondus (Decad. p. 551), and from the Greek text (καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς . . . διαλαμβάνεται), that the intention is to point out the laws by which the papal government should be regulated. Giesel. II. iv. 543. [This, however, is contradicted by Bp. Hefele, who says that Frommann has proved *etiam* to be the original word (vii. 754-6). I have not seen Frommann's book, 'Zur Kritik des florentiner Unionsdekrets,' Leipz. 1870.]

[z] Hard. ix. 419-24.

[a] Ib. 417; Syrop. x. 2.

[b] Ib. vii. 2. Mark of Ephesus accused him of having been corrupted; but Joseph of Methone indignantly vindicates him. (Hard. ix. 595.) John of Ragusa speaks very highly of the patriarch. Mansi, xxix. 656-7.

[c] Hard. ix. 408; Syrop. ix. 15. St. Antoninus says that he died in the Latin faith (529), and with this agrees a document which professes to be his will, written on the eve of his death. (Ib. 407; Hard. ix. 5.) Mr. Jenkins speaks of this as certainly a forgery (Life of Julian, 300). Mr. Ffoulkes seems to think it genuine, but composed in circumstances which make its trustworthiness as an expression of the testator's full mind questionable. ii. 363. Bp. Hefele defends it against Frommann, partly on the ground that it does not fully express the Roman claims. 723-7.

the exception of Mark of Ephesus, who had procured, through the emperor's brother, a promise that he should not be compelled to sign the definition, and should be sent home in safety.[d] "Then we have done nothing at all," was the pope's remark, on being informed of this exception.[e]

Some important ecclesiastical officers were compelled, after much reluctance, to subscribe—a compulsion which they felt as an especial hardship, because they had not been allowed to vote.[f] Among these was the chronicler of the council, Syropulus, "great ecclesiarch" (or chief sacristan) of the church of Constantinople, who satisfied his conscience by resolving to do penance, or to retract at some future opportunity.[g] At last the definition, which ran in the name of pope Eugenius, with the "consent" of John Palæologus and of the representatives of the eastern patriarchs, was completed by the subscriptions.[h]

On the 6th of July—little more than a week after the day on which the council of Basel had pronounced Eugenius to be deposed,[i]—his triumph over the Greek church was celebrated in the magnificent cathedral which he had lately consecrated.[k] All Florence kept holiday in honour of the great occasion.[l] A vast multitude thronged the building, and looked with curiosity and

[d] Syrop. x. 5. Ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν ὁ κολοιὸς κολοιός, says the writer of the Greek acts of the council. Hard. ix. 412.

[e] Syrop. x. 9.

[f] Ib. 6; cf. ix. 9.

[g] Ἔξεστί μοι ποιῆσαι ὁ βούλομαι εἰς ἐμαυτόν. Ib. x. 7.

[h] Hard. ix. 420-8. On the insufficiency of these signatures as a representation of the church, see Ffoulkes, ii. 360. "England," says Mr. Ffoulkes, "was represented by one bishop only—Rochester." But, as the bishop of Rochester of that time was William Wells, he could hardly be meant by the signature "Andreas Roffensis"; nor, if we follow up the suggestions of the various readings, *Rossumensis* and *Rossiniensis* (Hard. ix. 988), do we find that either the Scottish or the Irish Ross (Keith, 4to ed. 111; Ware, i. 587), or the archbishoprick of Rossano, in southern Italy (Ughelli, ix.), had then a prelate named Andrew.

[i] Gibbon, vi. 240.

[k] See p. 80.

[l] Syrop. x. 10.

reverence on the rich attire of the Greek prelates—unaltered from the early ages of the church.[m] The definition of the council was read in Latin by Cesarini, and in Greek by Bessarion, and was received with general acclamations.[n] The representatives of the churches embraced each other; the Greeks kissed the pope's knees and hand, and the act of reconciliation was followed by a solemn mass, at which the Greeks were astonished to see the pope drink the eucharistic wine through a tube.[o]

But very soon fresh differences arose. Varieties as to ritual and other matters—among them, as to the practice of divorce—were brought forward and discussed.[p] It was found impossible to solve in a satisfactory manner the question as to the invasion of eastern sees by Latin bishops.[q] The Latins, having secured the victory, treated the Greeks with contempt, and when it was proposed that they should in their turn attend a Greek mass, the pope insulted the Greeks by requiring that the service should previously be rehearsed before himself or the cardinals.[r] Moreover the Greeks still found themselves annoyed and distressed by delays and hindrances as to the payment of their allowance.[s]

The pope wished to have the refractory archbishop of Ephesus made over to him for correction;[t] he desired that the Greeks should elect a patriarch at Florence, and recommended for their choice the Latin patriarch, as a man who, in addition to other qualifications, was wealthy, and so far advanced in years that his riches might be expected to fall in no long time to the church.[u] But the emperor replied that the Latins had nothing to do with the

[m] Vespasian. Vitæ Eugen. in Ughelli, iii. 678, or Murat, xxv. 261, who speaks of 200 bishops.

[n] Syrop. x. 10.

[o] Ib.

[p] Hard. ix. 429; Syrop. x. 12.

[q] Ib. 14.

[r] Ib. 11.

[s] Ib. 17.

[t] Ib. 12; Hard. ix. 432; Ducas, 119-20.

[u] Syrop. x. 12; Hard. ix. 432. Mr. Ffoulkes supposes that the Latin patriarch was the pope's nephew. ii. 366.

case of Mark, who, if faulty, ought to be judged by his Greek brethren ;[x] and that the patriarch must be chosen in the imperial city by the votes of the whole province, and must be consecrated in the church of St. Sophia.[y]

On leaving Florence, the Greeks found fresh cause of complaint as to the manner in which they were conveyed homewards ; for as to this the pope's engagements were very imperfectly observed.[z] At Bologna some of them lodged in the same inn with some English envoys, who were on their way to the papal court.[a] The Englishmen asked what had been done in the council ; and on being informed of the result, they remarked, to the disgust of the Greeks, who had been boasting of its entire success, that, if there were no agreement as to the words of the creed, as to the doctrine of the procession, or as to the use of the eucharistic bread, the pretended union did not deserve the name.[b] Already some of those who had conformed began to show repentance and shame. At Venice, where the bishop of Heraclea was compelled by the emperor to celebrate a Greek mass in St. Mark's, the words of the double procession and the prayer for the pope were omitted.[c] At Corfu and elsewhere there were displays of the dissatisfaction which had been called forth by the late concessions ; and at Constantinople a storm of execration and reproach arose, such as in an earlier age had greeted the representatives of the eastern church on their return from the second council of Lyons.[d] The churches were deserted, although, in compliance with the popular feeling, the prayer for the pope and all mention of the union were suppressed.[e] Even

[x] Syrop. x. 16. After the pope had repeatedly asked for Mark, the emperor sent him to Eugenius, but with an assurance of safety. The pope spoke strongly to the archbishop, but without effect. Ib. 15.

[y] Ib. 12 ; Hard. ix. 452.

[z] Syrop. xi. 5.

[a] See Bekynton, ii. 79, 81-2.

[b] Syrop. x. 18. [c] Ib. xi. 2-5.

[d] Ducas, 120 ; see vol. vi. pp. 271, 278.

[e] Syrop. xii. 1.

the emperor's own name was in some churches omitted from among those commemorated in the diptychs.[f] The vacant patriarchate was refused by the bishops of Heraclea and Trebizond, who, with professions of deep remorse, retracted their late compliances with the Latins.[g] There was an attempt to elect the stubborn champion of eastern orthodoxy, Mark of Ephesus, to the vacant see, although he himself refused to concur.[h] Metrophanes, bishop of Cyzicus, who accepted the office, found that the people turned their backs on his benediction.[i] The emperor's brother Demetrius, who had refused to subscribe the union at Florence, and had withdrawn from that city in anger,[k] raised against John the standard of earlier orthodoxy.[l] Bishops and others withdrew from the patriarch's communion, and high officials of the church—among them the "great ecclesiarch" Syropulus—resigned their offices,[m] while Metrophanes endeavoured by violent means to enforce the union, ejecting bishops and others who opposed it, and even invading the jurisdiction of other patriarchs.[n]

In 1443 the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem held a council,[o] at which, by a slight change in his name, Metrophanes was stigmatized as a murderer of his mother, the church.[p] They denounced the council of Florence, and declared the patriarch, with all metropolitans, bishops, and others intruded by him,[q]

[f] Syrop. xii. 2; cf. 8-9.

[g] Ib. 2-3; Chalcocond. 156.

[h] Syrop. xii. 2. St. Antoninus says that the emperor set on foot a disputation between the bishops of Nicæa and Corone, and that Mark died of vexation at being defeated. (530.) Joseph of Methone's answer to Mark, although addressed to him personally, must have been written after his death, which the author represents as having been like that of Arius. (Hard. ix. 595.) Rinaldi and Mansi (n. in Rayn., t. ix. 459) suppose this tract to have been written by George Scholaris, who afterwards became patriarch under the name of Gennadius.

[i] Syrop. xii. 5. See as to his nomination, ib. 3.

[k] Ib. ix. 11.

[l] Ib.

[m] Ib. 6, 7, 9.

[n] Schröckh, xxxiv. 424.

[o] As to a council said to have been held in 1440, see ib. 420.

[p] Μητρόφονος. Allat. de Eccl. or, et occid. perpet. Consens. 939, seqq.

[q] Μητροπολίδια βέβηλα καὶ μιαρὰ επισκοπίδια. Ib.

to be deposed; and, emboldened by living under the rule of Mahometan sovereigns, they threatened the emperor with the extreme censures of the church if he should continue in his heterodoxy.[r] Some of the Greek prelates went so far as to address a friendly letter to the Hussites, urging them to union with the Greek church, as the means of withstanding the common enemy.[s]

The attempt to unite the churches by such sacrifices as those to which the Greeks had submitted at Florence, had drawn forth no effective help from the west; and the increased alienation which resulted from its failure tended to accelerate the ruin of the Byzantine empire.[t]

The primate of Russia and the archbishop of Nicæa had been promoted to the cardinalate, in order at once to reward their past services and to secure their influence for the maintenance of the union.[u] But the hopes which were thus rested on them were disappointed. Isidore, on returning to Russia, found that the prince, Basil, upbraided him at the public service of the church as a traitor to the orthodox cause, and that the clergy rejected him. He was even imprisoned in a monastery, and was glad to make his escape to Rome, whence he was afterwards sent to Constantinople as representative of pope Nicolas V.[v] The more prudent Bessarion, declining either to resume his Asiatic see or to accept an appointment by the emperor and the synod to the patriarchate of Constantinople,[x] remained in the west to enter on a new and brilliant career.[y]

[r] Allat. de Eccl. or, et occid. perpet. Consens. 939-45.

[s] Ib. 947-9.

[t] Milm. vi. 128. Phranza traces the Turkish aggression and the ruin of the empire to the attempt at union. ii. 13.

[u] Platina, 302. Ambrose of Camaldoli had early advised Eugenius to appoint Greek cardinals, and had reminded him that Benedict XIII. had with good effect promoted Jews to bishopricks. Ep. i. 15.

[v] Mouravieff, 76-8; see, too, Ciacon. ii. 903. It was supposed that Isidore, who was himself a Greek, had aspired to the patriarchate after the death of Joasaph. Syrop. v. 5.

[x] Phranz. i. 17.

[y] Ciacon. ii. 905.

From Florence Eugenius, in April 1443, translated the council to Rome; and, about a fortnight after his return to that city, he reopened the sessions in the church of St. John Lateran. Before leaving Florence he had received into communion some representatives of the Armenian church,[z] and, to complete the supposed reunion of Christendom, he now received deputies (real or pretended) of the Copts, the Jacobites, the Maronites, and the Chaldeans;[a] even Prester John, whose seat had been fancifully transferred to Ethiopia, was reported by the pope to have ambassadors on their way to the council.[b] But in the case of these remoter Christians, as in that of the Greeks, it soon appeared that the reconciliation was unsubstantial.

Oct. 13.

Eugenius had projected an expedition against the Turks in favour of his imperial ally.[c] The Germans, English, and French were so deeply engaged in their discords at home, that no help could be expected from them as nations,[d] although adventurers both from France and from Germany joined in the enterprise. Julian Cesarini, who had been promoted to the episcopal cardinalate of Frascati, was commissioned to exert his eloquence for the sacred cause in Hungary and Poland,[e] and readily gained Ladislaus, an ambitious young prince, who reigned over both of these countries.[f] A great army was collected; and at its head, under Ladislaus, was John Huniades, a general already famous for his skill in war;[g] while arrangements were

A.D. 1444.

[z] Rayn. 1439. 12-17.

[a] Hard. ix. 453, 1015, seqq., 1018, 1031, 1041, 1185; Rayn. 1441. 1, seqq.; 1442. 1; 1444. 1, etc.; Wadding, xi. 124, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 240; Giesel. II. iv. 545-6. See Bekynton, ii. 52, 327, seqq. There was a thanksgiving day in England for the reunion. Williams, Introd. to Bekynton, ciii.

[b] See Hefele, vii. 794-6.

[c] Hard. ix. 1037; Gibbon, vi. 265. See Phil. Callimachus, 'De Rebus a Vladislao gestis,' in Bongars, Hungar. Rerum Scriptores, Francof. 1600.

[d] See as to the pope's endeavours to reconcile them, Rayn. 1444. 5.

[e] Bull of Jan. 1, 1443, ib. 1443. 13-18.

[f] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 81; Gibbon, vi. 266.

[g] As to his origin, see Chalcocondylas, 136.

made for the co-operation of the Byzantine emperor, of the famous George Castriot, or Scanderbeg,[h] and of fleets from Venice and Genoa. The crusaders (on whom the cardinal was careful to impress the religious character of their expedition by regular masses, preaching, and other exercises)[i] advanced as far as Sophia, the Bulgarian capital, and gained two considerable victories, which were celebrated by a triumph at Buda.[k] The Turks sued for peace on terms highly favourable to the Christians; and Ladislaus concluded with them a ten-years' truce, which was ratified by oaths on the sacred books of both parties.[l] During these negotiations the cardinal had kept silence, although visibly annoyed by the course which they took. But before the conference was ended, he received tidings of the expected allies, which seemed to open a prospect of greater successes. Carried away by enthusiasm, he urgently represented to the king that the Turks had not fulfilled all their stipulations; that an engagement made with infidels without the papal sanction was of no force. He declared that, by the pope's authority, he absolved the crusaders from their oaths;[m] and he vehemently reproached a Polish bishop who opposed the breach of faith.[n] To these unhappy suggestions Ladislaus listened; and, with a force greatly weakened by the withdrawal of the French, the Germans, and others, who had supposed the campaign to be at an end, he again, in defiance of warnings,[o] advanced into

Aug. 1.

[h] Rayn. 1444. 7.

[i] Vita ap. Ughelli, iii. 679; Vespas. in Mai, i. 182.

[k] Æn. Sylv. 'Europæ Status,' in Freher, ii. 46; Gibbon. vi. 267.

[l] Ib. 268; v. Hammer, i. 456. Some say that it was also confirmed by the holy eucharist.

[m] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 81, p. 565; Phil. Callim. in Bongars, 345-8; Laon. Chalcocond. 171; Rayn. 1444. 5; Gibbon, vi. 268; Hammer, i. 460; Jenkins, 330-7. Æneas Sylvius says that Cesarini acted under orders from Eugenius (Freher, ii. 47), but considers that the event proves the obligation of keeping oaths as well to the enemies as to the household of faith. (Ep. 81) Rinaldi takes a different view: "Immo, plurimum commendandus est, quod in ea re sedis apostolicæ partes egregiè exegerit." 1444. 10.

[n] Jenkins, 339-40.

[o] Ib. 345.

Bulgaria.[p] But on reaching Varna, where the auxiliary fleets had been expected, it was found that, instead of these, sultan Amurath appeared at the head of an overwhelming force, which had been conveyed into Europe by Genoese ships;[q] furious on account of the late perfidy, and even, (it is said) calling on the Saviour to avenge the dishonour done by His worshippers to His name. In the engagement which followed,[r] the victory seemed for a time to incline to the side of the crusaders; but their impetuosity proved fatal to them. About 10,000 were slain —among them, king Ladislaus, who fell while charging the janissaries.[s] The fate of Cesarini is more mysterious, and is related in various ways. The most probable story seems to be, that, in fleeing from the field, he stopped to give his horse water, and, while so employed, was killed by robbers, who stripped his body naked, and left it to be recognized by some of his followers.[t]

Nov. 10.

A.D. 1434. In Bohemia, the result of the battle of Lipan had thrown the chief power into the

[p] Phil. Callim. 346.

[q] Vespas. in Mai, i. 181, 183; Nauclerus, 1068; Rayn. 1444. 7, 9.

[r] Ib. 9 Æneas Sylvius throws the blame of this battle on Huniades, (Freher, ii. 47,) whom Nauclerus blames for fleeing before the case was desperate. 1069.

[s] G. Phranz. ii. 19; L. Chalcocond. 175-8; Phil. Callim. 353; Rayn. 1444. 9; Gibbon, vi. 270-1; Hammer, i. 463.

[t] This is the account preferred by Æneas Sylvius. (Hist. Frider. in Kollar, 'Analecta,' ii. 119; Opera, 399; Freher, ii. 48.) See Chalcocond. 178; Krantz, 'Wandalia,' 278; Nauclerus, 1069; Ughelli, iii. 671-2; Gibbon, vi. 272; Jenkins, 357-8. Another story is, that the cardinal fell into the hands of the Turks, and was put to death with horrible tortures at Adrianople. (Ægid. Carlerius, in Baluz. Miscell. i. 351; Palacky, IV. i. 127.) Æneas Sylvius says that he did not expect Cesarini to be successful. "Non consuevit hic fortunatus esse in bellis, sicut Bohemia ostendit." (Ep. 81, fin.) And he recurs to this in a remarkable way, in a letter to the duke of Milan, giving an account of the defeat of the crusaders. (Ep. 52.) In another letter he speaks of himself as having been told by Caspar Schlick, in a dream, that the soul of Julian, as a martyr for Christ, had been received at once into heaven. (Archiv. für österreichische Geschichtsquellen, xvi. 397.)

hands of the Calixtines, among whom Rokyczana was now the most prominent leader.[u] The Orphans were broken up as a party, and the remains of them were divided between the Calixtines and the Taborites, while the Taborites, although weakened, were still considerable, and continued their extreme opposition to the Roman system, both in doctrines and in the externals of religion.[x]

During the years which immediately followed, we read of frequent conferences between various Bohemian parties, between Sigismund and the Bohemians, of communications with the council of Basel,[y] of contests as to modifications of opinion, and of formularies drawn up with a view to peace.[z] The national feeling was strongly displayed in the terms which the Bohemians wished to prescribe to Sigismund as a condition of receiving him for their king;[a] and, not content with the compromise by which the use of the eucharist in both kinds had been allowed to such adult persons as should desire it, they wished to enforce this manner of reception throughout the kingdom, and insisted on the necessity of administering the sacrament to infants.[b]

In October 1435, Rokyczana was elected archbishop of Prague by a body of persons chosen as representatives of all classes. But Sigismund refused to confirm the election unless on terms to which Rokyczana would not submit; and the discord became worse than before.[c]

On the 5th of July 1436, the *compactata*[d] were accepted

[u] Theobald. 159; Palacky, III. iii. 172.

[x] Ib. 181, 186.

[y] *E. g.*, Hard. viii. 1468; Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard. i. 2167, seqq.

[z] Giles Carlier, in Monum. Conc. Basil. i. 506, seqq., is very full as to these matters.

[a] Palacky, IV. i. 189, 224-7.

[b] Ægid. Carler. 508.

[c] Theob. 160. Palacky (who is very favourable to Rokyczana) says that he refused sincerely, from an apprehension of difficulties, and because he wished rather to obey than to command. III. iii. 206.

[d] See p. 61. Sigismund had promised to confirm them, Jan. 8. Hard. viii. 1614.

by the Bohemians in a great assembly at Iglau, where all estates of the kingdom appeared in the presence of Sigismund, who was seated on a lofty throne in the market-place.[e] On the conclusion of the agreement, Philibert of Coutances, as chief legate of the council of Basel, intoned the *Te Deum;* there were loud acclamations of joy from the multitude, while Sigismund and many others expressed the same feeling by tears; and the general rejoicing was displayed in bell-ringing, bonfires, and feasting.[f] All ecclesiastical censures were remitted, and the emperor agreed to accept Rokyczana as archbishop of Prague.[g] But on the following day, when a service of thanksgiving was performed, the peace was again disturbed by Rokyczana's administering the communion in both kinds at an altar of a church where the bishop of Coutances was at the same time celebrating mass in the usual Roman fashion. This act, done in a building which did not belong to the utraquists, was alleged to be in excess of the liberty allowed to them by the late agreement, and fresh differences arose in consequence.[h]

In the same month Sigismund, after a formal negotiation, was accepted by the Bohemians as their king. But he was not disposed to fulfil loyally some of the conditions which had been imposed on him.[i] He refused to confirm the election of Rokyczana unless he would submit to the church in all things, including the question of the chalice.[k] The bishop of Coutances, who

July 25.

[e] Thom. Ebendorfer, in Monum. Basil. i. 775; Joh. de Turonis, ib. 820; Cochl. 189; Palacky, III. iii. 215-16.

[f] Lenf. i. 456; Palacky, III. iii. 218; Letter of the legates in Hard. viii. 1620.

[g] Cochl. 296; Oswald. de Joh. Rokycz. 22.

[h] Joh. de Turon. in Mon. Basil. i. 821; Ebendorfer, ib. 779; Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 52; Oswald. 24; Lenf. i. 456; Palacky, III. iii. 220.

[i] Cochl. 297, 301; Schmidt, iv. 195; J. Turon. 829; Schröckh, xxxiv. 711-12; Giesel. II. iv. 446; Palacky, III. iii. 224-32. Æneas Sylvius ascribes to Sigismund the saying, "ignarum esse regnandi qui simulare nesciat." p. 473.

[k] Oswald. 24; Schröckh, xxxiv. 714; Palacky, III. iii. 234.

had been requested to remain while the other legates returned to Basel, acted as administrator of the vacant see, performing the episcopal functions and zealously exerting himself to re-establish the Roman system.[l] The old priests returned, and refused to give the sacrament to the laity except in one kind; the canons were restored in the cathedral, and the orders of monks and friars began to reappear.[m] On the other hand, Rokyczana was reported to have said that he would not accept institution from the legate, forasmuch as every priest had the same authority with bishops.[n] On both sides there were complaints that the late agreement was not observed.[o] Rokyczana, irritated at the course which things were taking, denounced the monks in a sermon as devils, and talked of shedding blood. On being informed of this, the emperor, who had been already provoked against Rokyczana by other stories of violent language, and by unfounded suggestions of treasonable designs, burst out into words which seemed to threaten the preacher's life; and Rokyczana for a time withdrew from Prague.[p] June 16, 1437.

The council of Basel refused to sanction the election of Rokyczana, whom it regarded as the author of the late troubles; it also refused to allow the communion of infants, as being contrary to the *compactata*, and the use of the vernacular language in the epistles, gospels, and creed.[q] But at the thirtieth session a decree was passed

[l] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 52, p. 122; Lenf. i. 463; Palacky, III. iii. 235, 247. Philibert is styled by Rokyczana's biographer, "vir disertus et ad omnem fraudem acutus." (16.) Others speak far more favourably of him.

[m] Æn. Sylv. c. 52; Cochl. 303; Palacky, III. iii. 261, seqq.

[n] J. Turon. 848.

[o] Palacky, III. iii. 246-7. Cochlæus says that the Hussite clergy never observed the condition of declaring to the people that Christ was contained entire under each species: "Nihil igitur prosunt eis compactata, quæ ipsimet nunquam servaverunt; ideo semper indigne communicant, et in judicium sibi manducant et bibunt, non dijudicantes corpus Domini, quod est Ecclesia," etc. 310.

[p] Æn. Sylv. c. 52; Joh. Turon. 836, 840, 859, 861, 867; Oswald. 24; Palacky, III. iii. 236.

[q] Cochl. 311.

by which, while it is declared that the faithful laity, or clergy other than the consecrator, are not required by the Lord's command to receive the eucharistic cup; that under each kind Christ is contained whole and entire, and that no one ought without the church's sanction to change the traditional custom of communicating in one kind only — the council yet allows that the mode of administration is left to the church's discretion, and that to those who worthily communicate in either way, the sacrament is profitable for salvation.[r]

Dec. 23, 1437.

The death of Sigismund, in December 1437, left Bohemia in confusion. His endeavours to get Albert of Austria elected as his successor had been fruitless; and when Albert was now chosen, on condition that he should observe the articles of Prague, the *compactata*, and all Sigismund's other engagements, the more violent Hussites set up in opposition to him a boy of thirteen—Casimir, brother of the king of Poland.[s] Bohemia was invaded by a Polish army, in concert with Casimir's Bohemian supporters; but the battle of Zelenic, in July 1438, established Albert on the throne.[t]

Within little more than a year, however, the death of Albert plunged Bohemia into a long anarchy.[u] About four months later, the emperor-king's widow gave birth to a son, who received the name of Ladislaus. The Bohemians, unwilling to have an infant for their sovereign, offered the crown to duke Albert of Bavaria and to the emperor Frederick; but both declined it,[x] and by

Oct. 27, 1439.

Feb. 22, 1440.

[r] Hard. viii. 1244.

[s] Æn. Sylv. c. 55; Lenf. ii. 3; Palacky, III. iii. 299. I need not go into the intrigues of Sigismund's widow, Barbara, whom Æneas Sylvius describes as "inexhaustæ libidinis mulier, neque Christianæ neque alteri cuipiam religioni astricta." c. 59.

[t] Palacky, III. iii. 315.

[u] Ib. 321; IV. i. 1-5.

[x] Æn. Sylv. c. 57; Coxe, i. 202; Nauclerus, 1066-7; Palacky, IV. i. 30, 34, 41.

Frederick's advice the young Ladislaus was acknowledged. After the death of the prince's mother, in December 1442, Frederick undertook to act as his guardian and as regent of the kingdom; but Bohemia continued to be distracted by the rivalries of religious and political factions.[y] The breach between the council of Basel and the pope added to the discords of the Bohemians. The chapter of Prague adhered to Eugenius, while bishop Philibert was with the council, to which he owed his commission as legate.[z] The Bohemians were angry because the council had done nothing for the vindication of their orthodoxy, and because Rokyczana and other elected prelates were unable to obtain consecration.[a] When Philibert had been carried off by pestilence, in June 1439,[b] the antipope Felix and the council nominated Nicolas von der Leiter, a native of Prague, as archbishop; but he failed to gain an entrance to the see.[c] On the other hand, Rokyczana, although on the death of Albert he returned to Prague and recovered his power, was unable to obtain the pope's acknowledgment as archbishop; and in his exasperation at this, he behaved with great violence towards the partisans of Rome — even denying them Christian burial.[d]

Nov. 1440.

At a meeting at Kuttenberg, in October 1441, where about three hundred priests were present, Rokyczana produced a confession of twenty-four articles. In this

[y] Schmidt, iv. 227: Coxe, i. 203; Palacky, IV. i. 101-3. Æneas Sylvius says, "Bohemis . . . gubernatores eligere placuit, inter quos Ptarsco et Mainardus priores habiti. Stetit aliquamdiu concordia discors," etc. (c. 58, p. 128). Hence it has been commonly supposed that Meinhard, as of the Roman party, and Henry v. Ptaczek, as a calixtine, were chosen joint governors. (Coxe, i. 203.) But Palacky says that the idea of a regency was not started until after the death of Ptaczek (whom he highly eulogizes) in 1444. The only meaning which is consistent with facts is, therefore, that the two exercised the chief power in Bohemia as heads of their respective parties. IV. i. 49, 115.

[z] Ib. 51.

[a] Ib. 44.

[b] Ib. III. iii. 334.

[c] Ib. IV. i. 51; Theob. 343; Oswald. 26.

[d] Lenf. i. 53.

document the administration of the eucharist in both kinds, the communion of infants, the use of the vernacular language in divine service, and the lawfulness of marriage for the clergy, were maintained; while at the same time it acknowledged seven sacraments, transubstantiation, the elevation of the host, and other points of Roman doctrine and ritual.[e] In opposition to this, the Taborites (who had refused to attend at Kuttenberg) produced at a conference in 1443 a confession of fifteen articles, in which two sacraments only were acknowledged, and they condemned the doctrine of purgatory and the use of images, with all belief of a spiritual presence in the eucharistic elements, which they regarded as mere signs, unentitled to any reverence.[f] At this conference, which was opened at Prague, and was afterwards continued at Kuttenberg, Przibram, who had been reconciled with Rokyczana, vehemently attacked the Taborites, whose opinions were more and more tending to what was styled picardism—a denial of all sacramental grace.[g] The conference (in which Nicolas the bishop and Coranda were prominent on the Taborite side) was the last public disputation in which the Taborites took part.[h] The result of it was to disclose more clearly than before the width of the difference between the parties. In the following year, a diet at Prague declared for the eucharistic doctrine of Rokyczana and Przibram, and rejected that of the Taborites, who found that their influence rapidly sank. The towns which had

A.D. 1443.

A.D. 1444.

[e] See Palacky, IV. i. 68, who says that the report in Theobald is spurious, but of unknown origin.

[f] See the views contrasted, Palacky, IV. i. 97. He says that Theobald's account is either invented, or altered from the truth. 98.

[g] Ib. 94-6, 99; see above, p. 24. It was charged against Przibram that he usually attacked Peter Payne in Bohemian, of which he knew that Payne had not enough to answer him readily. (Ib. 99.) See as to his party, ib. 438.

[h] Ib. 96; Lenf. ii. 78-9; Oswald, 29, 30.

been theirs gave themselves up, one by one, to clergy of the Calixtine party, and a few years later the Taborite doctrine was confined to Tabor itself.[l]

As the council of Basel declined, Eugenius rose higher in his pretensions. The French king had acknowledged him in 1441, and in 1444 the alliance was cemented by the appointment of the dauphin, Lewis, to be the standard-bearer of the church.[k] To the request of the Germans that a new general council might be called, the pope answered that there was no need of such an assembly, as a general council was already sitting under his own presidency at Rome, to which he had translated it from Florence, and to deny its authority was to attack the catholic faith. He offered, out of complaisance to the emperor, to ask this venerable body whether a new council were needed; but with the Germans he could settle nothing until they should have given up their neutrality—a thing unknown to the faith of Christ.[l] A.D. 1443.

It seemed as if a decided breach were near; but Frederick hoped to come to an understanding with the pope by means of a new agent whom he had lately taken into his service, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

Æneas Sylvius was born at Corsignano,[m] in 1405, of a Sienese family, which could trace its nobility to a great antiquity, but had become grievously impoverished, so that in early life he was obliged to take a share in the labours of the field.[n] He had studied law at Siena, but

[l] Palacky, IV. i. 105-8.

[k] Rayn. 1441. 9; 1444. 13.

[l] Aug. Patric. in Hard. ix. 1190.

[m] See Reumont, III. i. 129.

[n] Platina, 321; Voigt, 'En. Silv. de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius II. und sein Zeitalter,' i. 4-6 (3 vols. Berlin 1856-63). The story of a Roman origin, although countenanced by himself (Comment. 225), is fabulous. (Voigt, i. 5.) The writings of Æneas Sylvius are partly collected in his 'Opera,' and partly scattered through miscellaneous publications. An arrangement of his earlier letters, with the addition of 46 before unpublished, is given by his biographer Voigt, in the 'Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen,' Bd. xvi. (Wien, 1856.) As to the 'Commentarii,' see Voigt, ii. 336-41. I have not seen the edition by Fea, and have used that

without becoming fond of it,[o] as he preferred the classical literature of Greece and Rome, in which the famous scholar Filelfo was his teacher.[p] He attended the council of Basel, at first as secretary to cardinal Capranica, from whose service he afterwards passed into that of other masters.[q] He had been employed by the council in important affairs;[r] among them was a mission to Scotland, in the course of which he went through some adventures which curiously illustrate the state of Great Britain in those days.[s] He had also cultivated literature, and had produced, among other things, a Latin tale of adulterous intrigue, in which he has imitated the moral tone of Boccaccio perhaps more successfully than his skill in narrative.[t] His manner of life had been lax; but he excused this on the plea that he was not yet in the higher orders of the ministry.[u]

which goes under the name of Gobellinus. See Tirab. VI. ii. 31.

[o] Voigt, i. 17-18.

[p] Reumont, III. i. 131.

[q] Platina, 321; Æn. Sylv. Ep. 188, p. 758; Voigt, i. 20-2, 79, 83.

[r] Plat. 322.

[s] See the 'Commentarii' (Gobellinus), 5; Epp. 188, p. 758-9; Scott's 'Border Antiquities' in Miscell. Prose Works, vii. 79. The object of this mission has been matter of conjecture—his own statement, that it was to get a prelate restored to the king's favour (Comment. 4), not being accepted. (Voigt, i. 91.) See Jos. Robertson, Pref. to 'Concilia Scotiæ,' 91, seqq. [Perhaps the mission may have had some connexion with a speech made in the council by William Croyser, archdeacon of Teviotdale, in May, 1534, when the bishop of Glasgow and other Scottish ambassadors had gone by the council's desire to treat with the king of France. The archdeacon, after having magnified the council, inveighed against its members and prelates in eneral, "adeo ut multi dixerint numquam andivisse quenquam tam aperte in faciem increpantem prælatos ecclesiæ." He then went on to detail a number of things, "quæ per clericos et regem Scocie statuta erant et fiebant contra libertatem ecclesiasticam," and it was in vain that the abbot of Dundrennan and others attempted to quiet him. See Joh. Segov. vii. 20; and for Croyser's history, Jos. Robertson, 83.]

[t] This story, 'Eurialus and Lucretia,' is printed as No. 114 among his Epistles, and appears to have enjoyed an immense popularity in the form of separate editions, both in the original and in translations. It relates to the time of Sigismund's stay at Siena, and Eurialus is supposed to mean Caspar Schlick, to whom it is inscribed in Ep. 112; cf. Ep. 113. (Hahn, Monum. Præf. No. ix.; Aschb. iv. 439; Voigt, ii. 299-301.) The novel is dated from Vienna, July, 1444. When pope, the author expressed his penitence on account of it. Ep. 395.

[u] See his letter to his father on the birth of a son to Æneas. Ep. 15; cf. Ep. 92; Voigt, i. 285.

At Basel his abilities, and his determination to make his way by means of them, became conspicuous. After the return of his last patron, cardinal Albergati, to Italy, his eloquence won for him an important position in the council,[x] and he displayed much zeal in its cause and in that of the antipope Felix.[y] His diplomatic skill was employed in persuading the Hungarians to release Albert of Austria from an oath by which he had pledged himself that he would not accept the empire.[z] He became secretary to the antipope, and in that character was sent to the emperor Frederick, who flattered his literary vanity by the title of laureate,[a] and invited him to become his secretary.[b] Having with difficulty obtained a release from the antipope's service, Æneas accepted the office, and, professing to have overcome the levities of his former years, he was now ordained as subdeacon, deacon, and priest.[c] In politics he became for a time a pupil of Caspar Schlick, one of the most eminent men of the age, who filled the office of chancellor under three successive emperors ;[d] and

[x] Thus he spoke two hours (John of Segovia says, "fere trium horarum spatio") in favour of Pavia as a place for meeting the Greeks, and the speech was much admired, although unsuccessful. Comment. 8; Joh. Segov. x. 22.

[y] Comm. 9; Ep. 188, p. 578; Plat. 322. In company with Albergati he had formerly visited Amadeus at Ripaille. Comment. 332; Ep. 181, p. 758.

[z] Comment. 9.

[a] The document conferring this (July 27, 1442) is in Mencken, iii. 2039.

[b] Comment. 12; Plat. 322; Milm. vi. 152; Voigt, i. 185. The account of Vienna, with its sensual and pleasure-loving people (Vita Frider. in Kollar, ii. 9), is very curious. (Cf. Ep. 165.) Among the reasons why he could not feel himself at home in Germany was the difference of food, "quamvis facilius est Italicum vorare theutonice quam Theutonicum italice lambere." Archiv für Kunde österr. Geschichtsq. xvi. 372.

[c] Comment. 13; Milm. vi. 153; Voigt, i. 278.

[d] In his letter on the miseries of a court life (Ep. 166), he thanks Schlick for having invited him to his own table, and so having delivered him from the nauseous fare of the courtiers in general, which is very fully described (p. 728). Compare the description of Henry II.'s housekeeping, by Peter of Blois. (Ep. 14, Patrol. ccvii. 47-8). To Schlick also he was indebted for seeing that his salary should be fairly paid (p. 734). He gives a curious account of seeing Schlick and others in his sleep. Letter to Carvajal, Nov. 13, 1449, in Archiv für österr. Geschichtsquellen, xvi. 335.

in no long time he found himself able to direct the policy of Frederick.[e]

In 1445 Æneas was employed by Frederick on an important mission to the pope. His enmity to Eugenius had been notorious; and as he was believed with reason to be especially obnoxious at Rome,—indeed, the pope had forbidden his approach,—his kinsmen at Siena entreated him to venture no further.[f] But Æneas went on to Rome, and was able to gain an interview with the pope, to whom he addressed himself very skilfully. He avowed his past hostility to Eugenius, but pleaded ignorance as his excuse for an offence in which he said he had shared with cardinal Cesarini, with the archbishop of Palermo, and other eminent persons. He professed to have learnt at the imperial court to take truer views than before, and to have welcomed his mission to Rome as holding out a hope of reconciliation with the pope.[g] He entreated forgiveness, and at the same time intimated an opinion that his value was such as to make it expedient to treat him with consideration. Eugenius saw the importance of attaching to himself a man so able and so full of resources; and, although he did not welcome the emperor's request that he would summon a council in some German city, he skilfully impressed on the envoy that his position was one in which he might do much for the protection of the truth and for the good of the church.[h]

In the same year, Eugenius, supposing himself to have nothing to fear from the emperor, issued orders for the deposition of the archbishops of Treves and Cologne, who had taken part with the council of Basel, and as electors of the empire had supported the neutrality of

[e] Voigt, i. 281. For his ideas of the part which the emperor ought to take in the union of the church, see his 'Pentalogus,' in Pez, IV. iii 663, seqq.

[f] Comment. 15.

[g] Ib. 16.

[h] Ib. 17; Schröckh, xxxii. 116.

Germany; and in their stead he nominated two ecclesiastics of the Burgundian connexion.[l] But instead of awing the Germans, this proceeding against prelates so high in dignity, and so powerful both by their office and by their family connexions, endangered his hold on Germany.[k] The archbishops kept possession of their sees, and in March 1446 met their brother-electors at Frankfort, where a general spirit of defiance was manifested. The electors declared that unless Eugenius would withdraw the deposition of the archbishops, accept the decrees of Constance and Basel as to the authority of general councils, and appoint a council to be held in some German city in the spring of the following year, they would conclude that he wished to suppress for ever the holding of general councils, and they would thereupon summon one by their own authority, or join the party of the antipope.[l] An oath of secrecy was taken as to these terms; but the emperor, who had been informed of them without being bound by an oath, disclosed them to his secretary, who saw in the circumstances of the case an opportunity for exerting his political skill.[m] The emperor had told the envoys of the Frankfort meeting that he disapproved of the deposition of the archbishops, but that the princes had done wrongly in assuming judgment over the pope and in threatening to forsake him. He now sent Piccolomini and others to the Roman court, with instructions to bring the pope, if possible, by peaceful means to revoke the deposition.[n]

Of the secretary's colleagues in this mission, the most remarkable was Gregory Heimburg, who is described as the most eminent among the Germans for eloquence

[l] Harzheim, v. 286-8; Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. in Kollar, ii. 120; Schröckh, xxxii. 116-17.

[k] Hist. Frid. l. c.; Schmidt, iv. 235. Giesel. II. iv. 91 (from Müller's 'Reichstagstheatrum'); Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 120-1.

[m] Ib. 121-2; Schmidt, iv. 237.

[n] Hist. Frid. 122.

and legal learning[o]—a man of fine person, but rough in manner and careless of his appearance, whose sturdy German patriotism regarded the Italians with dislike and contempt.[p] The bearing of Gregory, and the tone of his language in expressing the resolution of the German princes to hold together in opposition to the papal assumptions, were new to the Roman court;[q] while in Gregory his acquaintance with that court excited feelings of strong aversion and of injured national pride. But his more politic Italian companion used his opportunities differently,[r] and privately assured the pope that, if he would reinstate the archbishops and would accept the decree of Constance as to the regular assembling of general councils, all Germany would abandon its neutrality.[s] The pope, instead of giving the ambassadors a reply, dismissed them with a promise that he would answer by letter;[t] and Piccolomini was followed in his return to Germany by an invitation to become papal secretary.[u]

At Ulm, Piccolomini joined Caspar Schlick and others, who had been sent by the emperor to a meeting of the German princes at Frankfort. The council of Basel had

[o] "Fuit autem Gregorius pulcro corpore, statura eminenti, facie læta, illustrioribus oculis, capite calvo; sed neque linguæ neque motibus temperans, sui cerebri, nulli auscultans, suorum morum, sibi vivens, in omni re libertatem præferens, obscœno cultu, nihil verecundiæ habens, cynicam vitam commendans." (Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 123; cf. Opera, ii. 86; Ep. 120; Voigt, i. 364.) The following sketch of Gregory at Rome may be worth quoting:—"Gregorius juxta montem Jordanum post vesperas deambulans, caloribus exæstuans, quasi et Romanos et officium suum contemneret, demissis in terram caligis, aperto pectore, nudo capite, brachia discoperiens, fastidibundus incedebat, Romamque et Eugenium et curiam blasphemabat, multaque in calores terræ ingerebat mala." (Hist. Frid. 124.) There is a life of Gregory by Clem. Brockhaus (Leipz. 1861), who says that he was of noble family, and that his omission of the *von* from his name was a characteristic peculiarity (p. 1). Dr. v. Döllinger speaks of him as "ein Mann der plumpe Anmassung und bäurischen Trotz für deutsche Geradheit und Freimüthigkeit ausgab." ii. 344.

[p] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 123.

[q] Ib.

[r] See Ranke, Hist. Reform. i. 49.

[s] Hist. Frid. 123-4.

[t] Ib. 124.

[u] Schröckh, xxxii. 126.

sent representatives, headed by the cardinal of Arles, but the imperial ambassadors interfered to prevent the cardinal from having his cross carried before him as legate, and from pronouncing his benediction.[x] On the pope's side were Nicolas of Cusa and Carvajal; but Thomas of Sarzana, bishop of Bologna, who had been expected as the chief representative of Eugenius, was unable to appear until later. Six of the seven electors were resolved to declare for Felix, if Eugenius would not consent to an agreement; but the emperor's policy aimed at dividing the electoral college.[y]

The story of the late mission to Rome was told by Gregory Heimburg, who, according to Æneas Sylvius, reported all the harsher part of the pope's sayings, and left out all that was more favourable.[z] He represented Eugenius and the curia as irreconcilably hostile to the Germans, and indulged in strong and telling sarcasms on the cardinals, especially Bessarion, whom, on account of his beard, he spoke of as an old he-goat.[a] In order to correct the exaggerations of his colleague, Piccolomini addressed the assembly; and when taunted with the inconsistencies of his past career by the cardinal of Arles and another of the Basel party, he replied that it was not he, but the council, that had changed.[b] The secretary, however, did not trust to his eloquence alone, but made large use of bribery in the emperor's interest; and, although the archbishop of Mentz was not to be personally corrupted, a distribution of 2000 florins among his counsellors proved effectual.[c] The archbishop expressed to Piccolomini the difficulties which he felt as to the manner of withdrawing from his engagements with the prelates of Treves and Cologne and with other electors; whereupon Piccolomini took the statement of terms which

[x] Hist. Frid. 126.
[y] Ib. 125-6; Koch, 21-3.
[z] Hist. Frid. 127.
[a] Ib.
[b] Ib.; Voigt, i. 377.
[c] Hist. Frid. 127-8.

had been drawn up on the part of the electors, and by "squeezing out all the venom" (as he expresses it) skilfully reduced them to such a form that they might give no offence to the pope, while they might yet be subscribed by the electors as expressing their intentions. The document thus ingeniously altered was readily accepted by the majority of the electors, while the duke of Saxony, the archbishop of Treves, and the archbishop of Cologne, although dissatisfied, made no opposition.[d]

On reaching Rome with these proposals, the German ambassadors found that the clergy of the papal court were against them. It was said that the church was sold, that the Romans were led, like buffaloes, by a ring through the nose. The cardinals in general (although profuse in their hospitalities to the strangers)[e] objected to the sacrifice of annates and of patronage of ecclesiastical dignities, and to the scheme for assembling general councils at regular intervals. The pope, they said, ought to be rich and powerful, in order that he may be able to protect prelates, to make peace between princes, to combat unbelief, and to extirpate heresy;[f] there had never been so many heresies as in the time before Sylvester, because then the papacy was poor, and therefore disregarded. To this the Germans replied that they did not wish to reduce the pope to poverty, but to provide for him by less objectionable means; and Eugenius found it necessary to overpower the opposition of the cardinals by threatening to add to their body. Four new cardinals were actually created — among them, Thomas of Sarzana, bishop of Bologna, and John Carvajal, a Spaniard, who had been among the pope's chief agents in the late negotiations.[g]

Dec. 16.

[d] Hist. Frid. 128; Comment. 20; Koch, 25-6.

[e] Æn. Sylv. de Morte Eug. etc., in Baluz. Miscell. i. 335.

[f] See Æn. Sylv. de Germania, 1076.

[g] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. i. 336; Hist. Frid. 130; Ciacon. ii. 924. Their promotion was announced to them as they

In the meantime the state of the pope's health, which had long been weak, became so alarming that the ambassadors hesitated to treat with him in the condition to which he was reduced. But Piccolomini urged on his colleagues that their obedience should be professed to Eugenius, as another pope might be less favourable, and even a new schism might break out; and John of Lysura said that it would be enough if there were life in the smallest toe of the pope's left foot, although all his other members were dead.[h] The ambassadors were admitted to his bedchamber, where they found him still wearing an air of dignity, but evidently dying.[i] Feb. 7, 1447. The terms were agreed on—chiefly that the pope should accept the decrees of Constance in general, and especially that which related to the assembling of general councils; that he should sanction such of the Basel decrees as had been accepted by the Germans under the emperor Albert, until a legate who was to be sent into Germany should be able to make other arrangements;[k] that the archbishops of Cologne and Treves should be reinstated on acknowledging Eugenius as the true vicar of Christ; and that all who had taken part in the proceedings of Basel should be forgiven on submission.[l] On these terms the Germans consented to give up their neutrality, and adhered to Eugenius; they undertook that the emperor should withdraw his safe-conduct from the council of Basel, and should bring other potentates to do the like.[m]

The result of the negotiations was proclaimed at a great public assembly, and there were demonstrations of

were on their return from Germany; and, according to some writers, the pope sent their red hats to meet them at the Flaminian gate, that they might enter Rome in dignity. Platina, 308; Rayn. 1446. 5.

[h] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. i. 336; Comment. 22 [misprinted 6].

[i] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. 337; Hist. Frid. 131.

[k] Harzheim, v. 38-9; Koch, 28-9.

[l] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. i. 336.

[m] Æn Sylv. in Palacky, IV. i. 162.

joy such as were usual for the celebration of an important victory. Rome enjoyed a general holiday; bells were rung, bonfires blazed, music resounded about the streets, relics of especial sanctity were displayed; the mitre said to have been given by Constantine to Sylvester, which Eugenius had lately acquired, was carried in procession from St. Mark's to the Lateran, and at night there was a brilliant illumination.[n] But on the day after the conclusion of the peace the pope's illness increased. He had executed four bulls for the purpose of carrying out the agreement; and by a fifth, which was grounded on the impossibility of fully considering all things in his sickness, he declared that nothing in the agreement should infringe on the privileges of the church.[o]

Feb. 5.

It is said that Eugenius, in reliance on a prophecy made to him in early life by a mysterious hermit, believed that the end of his papacy was at hand;[p] but he resolutely held out against the approach of death, and when the last sacraments were offered to him by Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, he said that the time was not yet come, and that he would give notice when it arrived. He took leave of the cardinals in a long speech, expressing satisfaction at the reconciliation of the church, and urging that the work should be carried out. The safety of the church, he said, would depend on their agreement among themselves. But when asked to recall the cardinal of Capua,[q] whom he had banished, he refused: "Ye know not what ye ask; it is best for you that ye

[n] Æn. Sylv. Comment. 5-6 (really 21-2); Hist. Frid. 132; Baluz. i. 337.

[o] Rayn. 1447. 4-7; Koch, 187, seqq. The bulls are more fully given in Müller's 'Reichstagstheatrum.' See Gieseler, II. iv. 97; Harzheim, v. 302.

[p] Vespas. in Mur. xxv. 266.

[q] Nicolas de Acciapacio, cardinal of St. Marcellus and archbishop of Capua, had been promoted by Eugenius, but was afterwards banished by him, in order, as is supposed, to gratify Alfonso of Naples, whose succession he had opposed. Ciac. ii. 902; Ughelli, vi. 353.

should be without him, and for him that he should be in exile."[r] One of the pope's chamberlains, who has left an account of his last hours, speaks much of the humility and penitence which he displayed.[s] Among his latest sayings was the expression of a regret that, instead of becoming cardinal and pope, he had not died in the safer condition of a simple monk.[t] His death took place on the 23rd of February 1447, sixteen days after the conclusion of his agreement with the Germans.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE NICOLAS V. TO THE DEATH OF PAUL II.

A.D. 1447-1471.

EUGENIUS, a few days before his death, had decreed that the regulations of the council of Basel as to the choice of a pope should be of no effect, but that the election should be conducted according to the laws enacted by Gregory X. at the council of Lyons and by Clement V. at the council of Vienne.[a] In accordance with this decree, the cardinals met in conclave at the church of St. Mary *sopra Minerva*, on the 4th of March.[b] But before that meeting an attempt to effect a revolution in the government of Rome had been made by Stephen Porcaro, a man of much literary culture, eloquent, popular, and connected by familiar friendship and correspondence with some of

[r] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. i. 338.

[s] Murat. III. ii. 900, seqq. Piccolomini's speech on the death of Eugenius (here quoted from Baluze's 'Miscellanea') is also in that volume, col. 878, seqq.

[t] Vespas. in Murat. xxv. 266. Æn. Sylvius wrongly dates his death on the preceding day, the feast of St. Peter's chair. Comment. 7; cf. Ciacon. ii. 876, 890.

[a] Rayn. 1447. 12. See vol. vi. p. 268; Clementin I. c. iii. c. 2.

[b] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. Misc. i. 339.

the most eminent among his contemporaries.[c] Porcaro's mind had been inflamed by his classical studies with an enthusiastic desire for the restoration of the ancient republican government. He disdained the career of public office, in which he had held honourable employments under the last two popes; and, not content with the respectable dignity of a knightly pedigree, he affected to trace his descent up to the ancient Roman Porcii. Believing that the opportunity for action had come, he addressed the common council of the people[d] when it was assembled in the church of Ara Cœli, after the death of Eugenius, denouncing in vehement language the indignity and disgrace that the children of the Scipios should submit to the yoke of priestly dominion. But, although there were some who would gladly have acted on such words, others recalled to memory the anarchy which had followed on the expulsion of Eugenius, and the citizens were held in check by the fear of Alfonso of Naples, who had occupied Tivoli and other places in the neighbourhood, and had assured the cardinals of his protection and assistance in case of need.[e] The business of the conclave was therefore allowed to proceed, under the guardianship of the ambassadors of certain princes—amongst whom Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini appeared as representing the emperor.[f]

The names of Capranica, Carvajal, and Prosper Colonna were brought forward, and on the afternoon of the third day it seemed as if Colonna were likely to be elected by the method which is termed *access*.[g] The bishop of

[c] Ambros. Camaldul. Epp. viii. 23-4, xix. 22-4, etc.; Reumont, III. i. 123; Gregorov. vii. 100.

[d] As to the government of Rome at this time, see Gibbon, vi. 401-2.

[e] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 135; Id. ap. Baluz. i. 339; Poggius, ib. 345; L. B. Albertus de Conjur. Porcaria, in Murat. xxv. 309; Infessura, in Eccard, ii. 188; Platina, 309; Gregorov. vii. 101-2.

[f] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. Miscell. i. 339 (where the account of the formalities is curious); Hist. Frid. 135; Gregorov. vii. 103.

[g] *I.e.*, when, after an indecisive ballot in the forenoon, the elector, in the afternoon, "revoking his morning's

Bologna was about to vote for him, when his own name (for which some votes had been given in the morning) was suggested by the archbishop of Taranto; and it was accepted by all as that of the only one among the cardinals who was not obnoxious to any party.[h]

The new pope, Thomas Parentuccelli, was the son of a physician, and was born in 1398 at Pisa, although he was commonly styled after his mother's birthplace, Sarzana.[i] He had studied at Bologna, and had acquired such a reputation that Æneas Sylvius speaks of his knowledge as universal, and declares that whatever was hidden from him must be beyond the knowledge of man.[k] Having early lost his father, and having been unkindly treated by his stepfather, he had in his youth been compelled to struggle with difficulties.[l] But he was drawn forth from obscurity by the patronage of cardinal Albergati, in whose household he spent twenty years;[m] he had distinguished himself in disputation with the Greeks at Ferrara and at Florence;[n] he had been employed in important missions, such as that which was sent into Germany for the purpose of breaking up the league of the electors;[o] and within eighteen months he had become bishop, cardinal, and pope.[p] In grateful remembrance of his patron, Nicolas Albergati, he took the name of Nicolas V.[q]

Nicolas is described as a man of small and spare per-

ballot, transfers his vote to some one whose name had that morning already come out of the ballot-box." Cartwright on Papal Conclaves, 154.

[h] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. i. 340-1; Plat. 308; Giorgi, Vita Nic. V., Rom. 1742, pp. 3-4.

Janott. Manetti, in Murat. III. ii. 907; Vespasian, ib. xxv. 269; Plat. 308.

[k] Ap. Baluz. Misc. i. 341; cf. Jan. Manetti, 911-13; Vespasian, 270, 274.

[l] Thus he said to one of his biographers, with reference to his early life, "Vespasiano, avrebbe creduto il popolo di Firenze che un prete da sonar campane fosse stato fatto sommo pontefice?" Vesp. 279; cf. Manetti, 909.

[m] Ib. 912-18; Vesp. 270.

[n] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 137; Vespas. 272; Plat. 308.

[o] Ib. See p. 125.

[p] Vespas. 270. Bologna was not yet an archiepiscopal see.

[q] Plat. 308; Manetti, 921; Reumont, III. i. 114. For his reverence for Albergati, see Acta SS., Mai. 9, p. 468

son, as affable and unassuming,[r] quick in temper but easily pacified; as sparing of expense on himself, but liberal to others, and munificent in his encouragement of literature and art.[s] Æneas Sylvius blames him for too great confidence in his own judgment, and for disregard of the opinion of others.[t] Although moderate in his general policy, he was zealous for the interests of the Roman see, and was bent on recovering for it, if possible, the privileges which had been assailed by the councils of Constance and Basel.[u] When asked by Piccolomini to confirm the agreement which his predecessor had made with the Germans, he expressed himself with moderation and good sense—that the bishops of Rome appeared to him to have extended the borders of their garments too far, by leaving no jurisdiction to other bishops; while, on the other side, the council of Basel had too much shortened the pope's hands; that, for himself, he did not intend to deprive the bishops of their rights, but trusted that respect for the rights of others would be found the best means for the preservation of his own.[x]

Piccolomini, on whom Eugenius had intended to bestow the bishoprick of Trieste,[y] received this reward of his labours from Nicolas, and returned to Germany, carrying with him a written confirmation of the late agreement, and resolved to work out the pope's design.[z]

In June 1447 a meeting was held at Bourges, where Charles of France presided, and the archbishop of Treves

June 28. represented his brother electors of Cologne, the Palatinate, and Saxony. It was agreed

[r] Vespas. 274.

[s] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frider. 137; Manetti, 918; Plat. 316. Gregorov. vii. 106; Reumont, III. i. 112-13.

[t] Hist. Frid. 137.

[u] Giesel. II. iv. 101.

[x] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. Misc. i. 340.

[y] The former bishop, whose death had been expected, outlived Eugenius. On the vacancy, Nicolas announced the appointment of Piccolomini to the emperor, while the emperor presented him to the pope, and both combined to set aside an election made by the chapter. Gobell. Comment. 23 (misprinted 77); Voigt, i. 111.

[z] Schröckh, xxxii. 153.

between the French and the Germans that no regard should be paid to the authority of either the council of Basel or that of the Lateran, although it was explained that by this nothing was intended against the observance of such decrees as had been accepted either in France or in the empire; that the king should urge the dissolution of both assemblies, and should request pope Nicolas to summon a new council for the following year, in compliance with the decree of Constance.[a]

In July a diet was assembled at Aschaffenburg, where cardinal Carvajal appeared as legate, while Piccolomini acted at once as a servant of the emperor and of the pope. The question of a provision for the pope, which had been proposed at the council of Basel,[b] was adjourned for discussion until the next diet, unless in the meantime it should have been settled by an agreement with the legate;[c] and Carvajal took advantage of the interval to procure the emperor's assent to a scheme which was greatly in favour of Rome.[d] Instead of receiving a compensation, the pope was to resume the practices of annates and reservation, on terms almost the same which had been allowed by the council of Constance, except that, instead of the alternate patronage of certain dignities, he was to have the presentation to such as should fall vacant in the alternate months of the year.[e] By this

Feb. 17, 1448.

[a] Hard. ix. 1317-23 (where the title of the Constance decree is misprinted *sequ ns* instead of *frequens*).

[b] See p. 71.

[c] Dacher. Spicileg. iii. 774; Koch, 36; Giesel. II. iv. 101-2.

[d] This, which although really agreed on at Vienna, is known as the concordat of Aschaffenburg (Schröckh, xxxii. 159, Hefele, vii. 839), is in Harzheim, v. 395, seqq. It is questioned whether Frederick, under the terms laid down at Aschaffenburg, was entitled to give his consent for all persons concerned. (See Schröckh, xxxii. 161; Voigt, i. 417.) Coxe vindicates the emperor for consenting. i. 256.

[e] Koch, 201, seqq. The "menses papales," or "rigorosi," were the alternate months beginning with January. See Gieseler, II. iv. 102-3, as to the strange corruption which, by the omission of the words "de quibus," had the effect of throwing into the pope's hands the patronage of deaneries, which the concordat had been expressly designed to keep from him.

concordat, the *acceptata* of Mentz[f] were set aside, and Germany became again subject to those burdens against which she had for thirty years been struggling, and from which she had for a time appeared to have gained a deliverance.[g] This triumph of the papacy was chiefly due to the art of Piccolomini, who not only swayed the mind of Frederick, but, by an unscrupulous use of bribery in the form of privileges, patronage, exemptions, and the like, induced the reluctant electors to sacrifice the interests of the national church to their own private advantage.[h]

Nicolas in the end of 1447 proclaimed a crusade against the antipope, and authorized the French king to seize his territories.[i] But such measures were happily not needed in order to the extinction of the schism. The submission of the Germans to Eugenius and his successor involved an abandonment of the council of Basel. The emperor, therefore, signified to that assembly that he withdrew his protection from it, and charged the citizens of Basel, under penalty of the ban of the empire, to harbour it no longer.[k] By this the remaining members found themselves obliged to join the antipope at Lausanne ; and at a meeting held at Lyons, between cardinal Allemand, as president of the council, and envoys from the kings of France, England, and other princes, it was agreed that Felix should submit to his rival.[l] The antipope, whose supporters had fallen away from him until he found himself acknowledged only in his own duchy of Savoy,[m] declared to the remnant of the council that, for

[f] See p. 75.

[g] There has, however, been much dispute as to the interpretation of the concordat. See Schröckh, xxxii. 164, 169, 172 ; Planck, v. 467-9 ; Giesel. II. iv. 102, 104 ; Koch, 53, seqq. ; Voigt, i. 417-24 ; Hefele, vii. 846.

[h] Koch, 39-44 ; Schröckh, xxxii. 168 ; Giesel. II. iv. 103. In some churches, as Bamberg and Würzburg, the concordat never took effect. Schröckh, xxxii. 166, 173-4.

[i] Hard. ix. 1313 ; Rayn. 1447. 18.

[k] Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 996-7 ; Naucler. in Rayn. 1448. 2.

[l] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frider. 137 ; Dacher. Spicil. iii. 768, 770-1 ; Hard. ix. 1324, seqq.

[m] Poggius, in Rayn. 1449. 4 ; Schröckh, xxxii. 157.

the sake of the church's peace, he resigned his dignity;[n] the eight cardinals of Felix's party then affected to choose Thomas of Sarzana to the papacy;[o] and the assembly, after having lasted nearly eighteen years, formally dissolved itself.[p] By a wise moderation on the part of Nicolas, all the sentences of Eugenius against the council were revoked.[q] Amadeus was made cardinal-bishop of Sabina, with the first place in the sacred college, and a commission as legate for Savoy and Piedmont;[r] and his adherents were allowed to retain their dignities.[s] The most prominent of these adherents, cardinal Allemand,[t] not only continued to enjoy the archbishoprick of Arles, but was able so entirely to atone for his offences against the papacy that he eventually received the honour of beatification from pope Clement VII.[u] Amadeus himself returned to the cheerful seclusion of Ripaille, where he died in 1450 or the following year.[x]

April 7, 1449. April 19, April 25.

In his political conduct, and especially with regard to the other Italian powers, Nicolas showed himself sincerely desirous of peace;[y] nor did he allow himself to be entangled in a contest for the duchy of Milan, which became vacant by the death of the last Visconti, Philip Mary, in 1447. Philip Mary had bequeathed his power

[n] Hard. ix. 1335; Rayn. 1449. 1, and Mansi's note.

[o] Ib. 5-6.

[p] Ib. 6, p. 535. There are documents connected with this in Dacher. Spicil. iii. 778, seqq.

[q] Hard. ix. 1314, 1337.

[r] Rayn. 1449. 6; J. Juv. des Ursins, in Mart. Thes. i. 1809; Platina, 321; Ciac. ii. 978.

[s] Hard. ix. 1327, 1337; Rayn. 1447. 19; 1449. 7; Antonin. 550. There is a letter of Nicolas authorizing the archbishop of St. Andrews to absolve those who had taken part in the council. (Rayn. 1447. 20; cf. Theiner, Monum. 277.) Capranica, bishop of Fermo had been made cardinal by the council (having been designated by Martin V.), but afterwards joined Eugenius at Florence. The pope wished him to lay aside his hat, and to receive it anew; but Capranica refused, and Eugenius gave way. Vespas. in Mai, i. 185; Ciac. ii. 834.

[t] He died Sept. 16, 1450. Gregorov. vii. 108.

[u] A.D. 1527 (Rayn. 1450. 20; Acta SS., Sept. 16). See p. 74.

[x] See Mansi in Rayn. ix. 562

[y] Vespas. 278, 280; Platina, 309-11; Schröckh, xxxii. 175.

to Alfonso of Naples;[z] but the emperor claimed the duchy as a fief, which had lapsed to the empire through the extinction of the Visconti; while Charles of Orleans advanced pretensions which were supported by the king of France, and the Milanese themselves favoured Francis Sforza, a condottiere, who had married an illegitimate daughter of the late duke, but had alienated the jealous nature of Philip Mary by the growth of his power and renown. A war of two years and a half was concluded in February 1450 by a peace which established Sforza in possession of the duchy.[a]

Throughout his earlier life, Nicolas had been distinguished by his love of literature; and his elevation enabled him to foster by the authority and by the wealth of the papacy the studies to which he was devoted.[b] The time was one of extraordinary intellectual movement. Already men of letters were held in high consideration by the princes of Italy, who were proud to entertain them at their courts, and in some cases endeavoured to acquire for themselves the reputation of learning and mental accomplishments;[c] and, under the republican government of Florence, they found such encouragement from the chief families (among which the Medici were now rising into pre-eminence) as to make that city the headquarters of the literary revival.[d] Nicolas himself had

[z] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 139.

[a] Ib. 129, 146, seqq.; De Europa, 463; Simoneta in Murat. xx. 600-7; Gregorov. vii. 110-13. Matthew of Coussy says that Philip Mary had advised the Milanese to establish a republic. Monstrel. ed. Buchon, x. 108.

[b] Vespas. 273, 279. See a dissertation at the end of the Life of Nicolas, by Giorgi.

[c] Bayle, art. *Naples, Alfonse de*, notes B, C; Tirab. VI. i. 25, seqq.; Burckhardt, Cult. der Renaissance, 174, seqq. For Alfonso of Naples, see the life of him by Vespasian, in Mai, Spicil. i. 75, seqq., 93. Æn. Sylv. de Europa, 470; Mariana, ii. 414; Sismondi, vii. 216; viii. 274-5; Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 243. For Cosmo de'Medici, Vespas. in Mai, i. 535, seqq. Sismondi, vii. 110, seqq. For Frederick, duke of Urbino, Vespas. in Mai, 118, seqq.; Burckh. 176; and Dennistoun. Vespasian gives a list of the chief books in the duke's library, 125, seqq.

[d] Gregorov. vii. 512-13. Reumont, III. i. 318; Roscoe, Life of Lorenzo, 244-8; Life of Leo, i. 51.

lived there in the train of pope Eugenius, and had been intimate with the most eminent scholars.[e] His own patronage of literature, as has been remarked, was not the condescension of a prince, but showed the interest of a genuine lover of books.[f] He invited men of learning to settle at Rome;[g] he collected manuscripts wherever they could be found; even the great calamity which in his pontificate befell Christendom through the Turkish conquest of Constantinople was turned to advantage in this respect, as fugitive scholars brought with them to Italy such books as each could rescue, and Nicolas employed agents to search in Greece for remains of ancient literature.[h] The study of Greek, which had been revived in the preceding century,[i] became now so popular in Italy, that even ladies of high rank are said to have been able to discourse in that tongue.[k] Plato was introduced into the west by Gemisthius Pletho, and disputed the supremacy which Aristotle had long held in the schools.[l] In the western countries, too, manuscripts which had lurked in monastic or other libraries were now brought to light, and revealed writings of classical authors which had been unknown for centuries.[m] Through the works of Cicero and Quintilian the power of oratory rose into such estimation that Nicolas himself is even said to have partly owed his election to the admiration excited by his funeral discourse over his predecessor.[n]

Under Nicolas the scanty library of the popes, which had accompanied them to Avignon and had thence been brought back to Rome (although not without considerable losses), was lodged in the Vatican, and was

[e] Vespas. 271; Gregorov. vii. 515.

[f] Milman, vi. 179. [g] Vespas. 279.

[h] Ducas, 171; Filelfo, in Rayn. 1455. 15; Manett. 926; Gibbon, vi. 252; Gregorov. vii. 517, 519.

[i] See Book VIII. c. xi. sect. 4.

[k] Gregorov. vii. 551-2. Hippolyta, daughter of Sforza of Milan, made a Latin speech to Pius II. Comment. 107.

[l] Gibbon, vi. 252; Ritter, ix. 220 36.

[m] Manett. 927; Platina, 316; Tirab. VI. i. 101; Gregorov. vii. 516.

[n] Manett. 917; Vespas. 278; Gregorov. vii. 508.

increased by 5000 manuscripts.[o] The pope employed a large number of copyists in the multiplication of books—a work in which such labour was soon to be superseded by the art of printing, which at this very time produced its first-fruits. He engaged scholars of reputation to translate into Latin the writings of Greek classics and fathers; and a new version of the whole Bible, from the original tongues, was projected and partly executed.[p]

Among the most eminent scholars of the age was Laurence Valla, born at Rome in 1406. About the year 1440, Valla produced his treatise on the 'Donation of Constantine,' a masterly exposure of the forgery which, although not without occasional question, had been generally received for centuries.[q] But Rome was no safe place for the author of such a work; and Valla secretly withdrew to Naples, where his critical spirit was exercised on the pretended correspondence of the Saviour with Abgarus, and on the common belief that the creed which takes its name from the apostles was formed by the contribution of an article by each of the twelve.[r] For these writings he was arrested by the Inquisition, was condemned as a heretic, and would have been burnt, but for the intercession of king Alfonso.[s] His entreaties that he might be allowed to return to Rome were disregarded by Eugenius; but Nicolas invited him, made him his own secretary, and furnished him with literary employment.[t] To this employment Valla probably owed his preservation from

[o] Manett. 926; Gibbon, vi. 254; Gregorov. vii. 521. Reumont gives much information as to libraries. III. i. 331, seqq.

[p] Æn. Sylv. de Europa, 459; Manetti, 927, 937; Tirab. VI. i. 57; Reumont, III. i. 329; Burckhardt, 150. Vespasian (282-3) gives a list of works executed under the pope's patronage.

[q] Tirab. VI. ii. 339, 347; Valla's treatise is in Schard's 'Syntagma,' and in Brown's 'Fasciculus,' i. 152, seqq. See Döllinger, 'Papstfabeln,' 104.

[r] Gregorov. vii. 544.

[s] Rayn. 1446. 9. It is said that he underwent a whipping in the Dominican convent, but this rests only on the authority of his enemy Poggio. Lenfant, Conc. de Basle, ii. 148.

[t] Gregorov. vii. 547-9.

sharing in fatal revolutionary schemes which might have been likely to enlist his sympathy; for, after having shown the worthlessness of the foundation on which the temporal power of the papacy had been made to rest, he had gone on to argue that no pretence of prescription could be admitted in behalf of that power, to exhort the Romans to rise against it, and to advise the popes themselves to abandon it.[u] Valla was promoted by Calixtus III. to a canonry of the Lateran church, and died in 1465.[x]

Of the Greeks, Bessarion was distinguished above the rest, not only by his fame as a scholar, but by the dignities of cardinal and titular patriarch of Constantinople.[y] He had acquired a perfect command of the Latin language, and had been able to adapt himself to the manners of his new society.[z] For a time he administered the government of Bologna as legate with great success;[a] he was employed on important missions, and at more than one election appeared likely to be chosen pope. He lived in splendour and bounty, and was regarded as the patron of the Greeks who had settled at Rome. His house was full of scholars, partly his own countrymen, and partly Latins who cultivated Greek literature; and, like Nicolas, he was a zealous collector of manuscripts, of which he bestowed a precious collection on the doge and senate of Venice.[b]

The character of the new literary class in general was not without serious defects. They were too often without

[u] Fascic. i. 155-6; Greg. vii. 546; cf. Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 199.

[x] This is said to be the year given in his epitaph, although some place his death earlier or later. See Bayle, art. *Valla*, n. A.

[y] See Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. xi. 422, seqq. He did not, however, become patriarch until after the death of Isidore, in 1463, under Pius II. Rayn. 1463. 58.

[z] Platina, Panegyr. in Bessar. p. 79; Gaspar Veron. in Murat. III. ii. 1032.

[a] Ib. 79-80.

[b] See his letter to them (1459) in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iii. 1600; Vespas. in Mai, i. 193; Plat. Panegyr. 83; Ciacon. ii. 908; Gasp. Veron. in Murat. III. ii. 1033; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 155; Gregorov. vii. 559-61.

dignity or self-respect, indifferent to public interests, willing to bask in the patronage alike of popes, of republics, or of the princes who held in Italy a position like that of the ancient Greek tyrants; and they were always ready for the sake of advantage to transfer themselves from one patron to another. They were vain, greedy, quarrelsome, bitter in their mutual jealousies and envies, unsteady, unthrifty; and with their study of the classics they not uncommonly combined the morality of ancient paganism.[c] Nor even in respect of literary value can their works claim the praise of originality; the minds of these scholars were exercised in the illustration and imitation of the ancients, without being able to produce anything of independent merit.[d] And little did Nicolas and the other ecclesiastical patrons of the classical revival suspect that its results would be, on the one hand, to paganize the church, and, on the other hand, to produce a rebellion against its authority.[e]

Nicolas was bent on renewing the splendour of his city. The whole of the Vatican quarter was to be rebuilt according to one grand plan, and in a style of unexampled magnificence.[f] The venerable basilica of St. Peter, founded by the first Christian emperor,[g] was to make room for a new structure, to be designed in the form of a Greek cross, and surmounted by a soaring cupola;[h] and the work was begun by removing the ancient sepulchral chapel of Probus,[i] at the further end of the church, in

[c] Roscoe, 'Lorenzo,' 75; Sismondi, vii. 161-4; ix. 79; Burckhardt, 213; Gregorov. vii. 508, 533. See his sketches of Poggio, Filelfo, etc., 537, seqq.; Tirab. VI. ii. 46. "If their mutual reports of each other are to be trusted, they must have been the vilest set of miscreants that ever existed." Hartley Coleridge, Biog. Borealis, 517, ed. 1.

[d] Greg. vii. 534-5; Reumont, III. i. 389.

[e] Gibbon, vi. 253; Milm. vi. 178, 182; Gregorov. vii. 509; Reumont, III. i. 321.

[f] Manett. 931; Platina, 316; Gregorov. vii. 629.

[g] Reumont, i. 640.

[h] Man. 931; Greg. vii. 631.

[i] It was built about A.D. 400 by his widow, Anicia Proba, and is described as "templum magis pro magnitudine

order to the erection of a new tribune, which had risen only a few feet above the ground at the time of the pope's death and was destined to be superseded by a yet more magnificent structure in the following century. Around the great church were to be grouped a palace, churches, convents, and a library, with porticoes, gardens, and a cemetery; and the rebuilding of the palace was commenced.[k] The Pantheon was restored from a ruinous condition, and the destruction of ancient Roman monuments was checked.[l] Many other churches of the city were restored;[m] much was spent on repairs of the walls and on new fortifications of the Vatican quarter, with a view to protecting the popes against such tumults as that by which Eugenius had been driven from Rome;[n] and in many provincial towns—such as Orvieto, Viterbo, Fabriano, Spoleto, and Assisi—the short pontificate of Nicolas was marked by the erection of new and splendid public buildings.[o] To him is also ascribed the introduction of a magnificence before unknown into the services of the church. Gold and silver plate in profusion, jewelled mitres, vestments, altar-coverings, and curtains inwoven with gold, attested the munificence of the pope and the sumptuousness of his taste.[p]

The arts of painting and sculpture, as well as that of architecture, enjoyed the patronage of Nicolas. Under him the saintly Dominican John of Fiesole, styled Angelico,

ejus quam oratorium." Panvin. de Basil. Vatic. in Mai, Spicil. Rom. ix. 257. See Acta SS., Jun., t. vii. pp. 71*-2*, 145*.

[k] Manetti, 933-4; Gregorov. vii. 631-2; Reumont, III. i. 381-2, 516.

[l] Schröckh, xxxii. 196; Gregorov. vii. 55-6, 554.

[m] Man. 931; Reumont, III. i. 380.

[n] Man. 930; Infessura, 1885; Plat. 316; Ranke, Hist. of Popes, iii. 249 (from a poem of the time); Gregorov. vii. 630; Reumont, III. i. 379. The emperor Frederick, on visiting Rome expressed great admiration of the pope's buildings. (Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 202.) But St. Antoninus applies to Nicolas the words in St. Luke, xiv. 30, "This man began to build, but was not able to finish." (p. 550.) Cf. Gregorov. vii. 629.

[o] Manetti, 929; Platina, 316; Sism. vii. 170; Reumont, III. i. 385-6.

[p] Æn. Sylv. de Europa, 459; Gregorov. vii. 143.

who had been invited to Rome in 1445 by Eugenius, adorned the new chapel of St. Laurence in the Vatican.[q] But both literature and art were exotics at Rome, where the love of antiquity rarely took any other form than that of political republicanism.[r] With the exception of Valla, no native Roman became prominent among the scholars of the time; the painters, the sculptors, the architects were brought from Florence; and while they found patrons in the popes and the cardinals, they met with no encouragement from the Roman nobles.[s]

An attempt had been made in 1423 to celebrate a jubilee according to the calculation of thirty-three years, as that interval had elapsed since the first jubilee of Boniface IX. in 1390.[t] This attempt, according to the expression of a chronicler, was "neither forbidden nor authorized" by Martin V.,[u] and it proved a failure. But in the pontificate of Nicolas, the term of half a century since the jubilee of 1400 was completed, and the pope

[q] Vasari, iv. 35; Marchese, i. 288, 290; Gregorov. vii. 633. Angelico did much more at Rome, but the paintings in the chapel of St. Laurence are said to be the only remaining specimens. Some of them have been engraved for the Arundel Society, and in one the figure of a pope is a portrait of Nicolas. (Ib. 674.) Angelico, whose birth is dated from 1387 to 1390 (Marchese, i. 201), died in the same year with the pope, and is buried in St. Mary's sopra Minerva. Vasari says that Nicolas wished to make him archbishop of Florence, but that he excused himself on the ground of unfitness, and recommended his brother-Dominican Antoninus—who was thereupon appointed. (iv. 36.) If this story be true, it ought to be referred to the papacy of Eugenius (Comment. ib. 46), who is reported to have said that Antoninus was the only person whom he had found it necessary to threaten with excommunication in order to persuade him to accept an archbishoprick. But the life of Antoninus, by his servant Castiglione, although it mentions his reluctance, says nothing of the part which is ascribed to Angelico in the affair. (Acta SS., Mai. 2, pp. 319-20.) Marchese supposes that Angelico, being employed in painting for the pope, recommended Antoninus for the vacant archbishoprick, but without having himself had an offer of it. i. 296. (Vespas. in Mai, i. 227.) See Crowe-Cavalcaselle, i. 590, 593.

[r] Reumont, III. i. 385.

[s] Ib. 318-19; Gregorov. vii. 513, 623, 655, 672.

[t] See Book VIII. c. v.

[u] Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2152. But it would seem from Raynald. 1423. 22, that he was really angry, and put a stop to it. Chacon says that Martin celebrated a jubilee in 1425, when there was a great concourse of people to Rome, and provisions were very cheap. ii. 818.

took measures for celebrating the festival with the fullest effect.[x] By some powerful persons, indeed, the pilgrimage was discouraged. Duke Henry of Bavaria told his people that forgiveness might be had of God in all places alike.[y] The Teutonic knights of North Germany, wishing to prevent their subjects from taking a long journey which might have been hurtful to the interests of the brotherhood, refused to publish the bull for the jubilee; but they were afterwards glad to appease the pope's anger by a present of a thousand ducats, in order that the indulgences of the jubilee might be dispensed by their own clergy to those who should give certain alms and perform certain devotional exercises in their own country.[z] The unwonted security of the ways induced multitudes to flock to Rome, so that no jubilee since the first (that of the year 1300) had been so crowded or so brilliant. The pilgrims are compared to flights of starlings, to heaps of bees or ants, to the sand of the sea shore;[a] and such was the pressure one day on the bridge of St. Angelo, when the stoppage of a mule caused a confusion between those who were rushing to the display of the Veronica[b] in St. Peter's and those who were returning from it, that about two hundred were crushed to death, or forced into the Tiber and drowned.[c]

[x] Rayn. 1449. 15.

[y] Schröckh, xxxiii. 468.

[z] Voigt, 'Stimmen aus Rom (correspondence of the representative of the order) in Raumer, 'Hist. Taschenbuch,' 1833, pp. 138-42. The pope did not escape the charge of rapacity. (Ib. 115.) Philip, duke of Burgundy, got from Nicolas the benefit of the indulgence for those who should put into the church-boxes at Mechlin a fourth of what the Roman pilgrimage would have cost; and this was afterwards mitigated by leaving the amount to each person's conscience. C. Zantfl. 473.

[a] Vespas. 282; Manetti, 924; C. Zantfl. 472; Gregorov. vii. 113.

[b] See vol. v. p. 420.

[c] This is the number given by Æn. Sylv. (De Europa, 459), Platina (312), and others. St. Antoninus says, "quadringenti et multo plures" (554); and the history of Brescia, in Murat. xx. 867, says that there were more than 500,—among them bishops, knights, gentlemen, and ladies. Another writer says that 120 were crushed, and some were drowned. (Annal. Boninconstr. ib. 155.) Matt. de Coussy makes the number only 97. (Monstrel. x. 288; cf. Infessura, in Eccard. ii. 1884; Ma-

The privileges of the jubilee were continued for some time after the end of the year, and the cardinal of Cusa was sent to dispense such graces in Germany. But, although he discharged this function with much success, it would seem that his own belief in their efficacy was not enthusiastic; for, on being asked whether a monk might go on pilgrimage without the leave of his abbot, he quoted pope Nicolas himself for the opinion that obedience is better than indulgences.[d]

The wealth which the pope received through the jubilee contributed largely to support the cost of his buildings and of his encouragement of learning and of the arts.[e] But at the very time when so vast a concourse was drawn towards Rome, a plague, which had raged with great violence in the north of Italy,[f] reached the capital; and with the growing heat of the weather its virulence increased. Soon after midsummer, the pope withdrew, and with a party of scholars, in whose society he delighted, he shut himself up in one castle after another until the danger was over.[g]

In 1452 Rome witnessed for the last time the coronation of an emperor. Frederick, whose territory and wealth were ill equal to the support of his great dignity,[h]

netti, 924; Gregorov. vii. 113.) A Liége chronicle mentions a *domicella* from the neighbourhood of Diest, who, not being able either to walk to Rome or to bear the motion of a carriage, hired eight men to carry her in a litter. She died by the way, but bound her bearers, who were amply paid for their labour, to complete the pilgrimage. (Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 1213.) Æneas Sylvius tells of Frederick, count of Cilley, a man deeply stained with vice and crime, that at the age of ninety he attended this jubilee for the sake of the indulgences: "reversus tamen nihilo melior visus, interrogatus quid sibi Roma profuisset in pristinos mores relapso, 'Et calceator meus,' inquit, 'ad consuendas ocreas post visam Romam rediit.'" De Europa, c. 21.

[d] Chron. Marienvord. in Leibn. ii. 463; Magn. Chron. Belg. in Pistor. iii. 415.

[e] Manetti, 924-5; Gregorov. vii. 114; Vespas. 282, who says that during the jubilee there were at one time in the bank of the Medici more than 100,000 florins belonging to the church. 279.

[f] It carried off 30,000 at Milan, and almost depopulated Piacenza. Sism. vii. 131.

[g] Manetti, 928; Vespas. 284; Stimmen aus Rom, 70; Reumont, III. i. 120; Gregorov. vii. 114.

[h] Schröckh, xxxii. 177.

imagined that his authority might be enhanced by receiving the imperial crown according to the traditional usage, and, leaving disaffection and conspiracy behind him, he crossed the Alps with a small force.[i] The cost of the expedition was in part supplied by the pope, in consideration of the advantage which he had gained by the Vienna concordat.[k] The days were past when the visit of an emperor was formidable to the Italians: "all before him," says a contemporary writer, "had made some attempt to recover power; he was the first who gave up the hope."[l] Everywhere Frederick was received with honour, and was entertained at the expense of the cities through which he passed.[m] He did not disdain to ask for safe-conducts from the local authorities;[n] nor to gain some money by bestowing privileges of various kinds,—such as the dignities of count and knight, and even the degree of doctor or the office of notary.[o] From an unwillingness to acknowledge Sforza, by whom he had been baffled as to the duchy of Milan, he declined his invitation to that city, alleging as his excuse the plague which had lately raged.[p] The pope, who had been alarmed by prophecies and rumours, and by the remembrance of former troubles, had endeavoured to delay the emperor's visit, but his objections had been overcome by the skill of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who had just been promoted to the bishoprick of Siena;[q] and Nicolas contented himself with providing against any danger from

[i] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 195.

[k] Gregorov. vii. 114.

[l] Krantz, 'Wandalia,' 280; cf. 'Saxonia,' 307. St. Antoninus is very unfavourable to Frederick. 554.

[m] Hist. Frid. 231. See, however, as to Siena, ib. 272-3. The writer takes this opportunity to denounce the Bolognese as democratic, unruly, treacherous, etc. 236-40.

[n] Ib. 320; Neri di Dino Capponi, in Murat. xviii. 1211.

[o] Gregorov. vii. 116-17. He knighted 300 on the bridge of St. Angelo on his coronation-day, and he again used this means of raising money on his later visit to Italy. Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 255; Voigt, ii. 46, 51; Burckhardt, 14.

[p] Hist. Frid. 234-5; Rayn. 1452. 2; Sism. x. 139.

[q] Gobell. 29. See the account of his reception in Voigt, ii. 19.

the Germans by strengthening the fortifications and the garrison of Rome.[r] At Florence two cardinals appeared with the announcement that all was ready for the coronation,[s] and required that Frederick, before entering the territory of St. Peter, should take an oath to the pope, which they represented to be prescribed by the Clementines,[t] and by ancient custom. To this he truly replied that the oath had not been taken by Henry VII.,[u] that it was no older than the time of Charles IV., and that therefore the Clementine decree was of no force; yet he submitted to it at Siena, and bound himself by a second oath before entering the gates of Rome.[x] At Siena the emperor was met by his intended bride, the princess Leonora of Portugal, who had been conducted from her landing in Italy by Piccolomini.[y] On their arrival at Rome, Frederick was lodged in the Lateran palace, and thus had the opportunity for frequent confidential conversations with the pope by night.[z] On the 16th of March the nuptials took place, and Frederick was crowned as king of Italy, although not with the ancient

[r] Platina, 312; Voigt, ii. 35-6.

[s] Hist. Frid. 190-3, 251; J. A. Campanus, in Murat. III. ii. 971; Freher, ii. 21-5; Platina, 323; Coxe, i. 260.

[t] See Clement. l. ii. tit. 9, "De jurejurando." [u] See p. 74.

[x] Hist. Frid. 257; Lenf. Conc. de Basle, ii. 231. At Viterbo Frederick had a strange specimen of the roughness which had become customary on some occasions in Italy. Some young men in a balcony tried to pull away with hooks the canopy which was held over his head, and some papal cavalry soldiers attempted to seize his horse and his hat. The emperor found it necessary to lay about him with a cudgel which he took from one of his attendants, and for an hour a general fray raged. The government wished to punish this, but Frederick interceded. (Hist Frid. 274.) For similar scenes, see Burchard, in Eccard, ii. 2071; Gregorov. vii. 165, 172. The plundering of a cardinal's palace on his election to the papacy was a common instance of the same rude licence. On account of the manner in which the Romans scrambled for the pope's horse, his canopy, etc., some of the ceremonies of the coronation were omitted in the case of Innocent VIII. Burch. ed. Gennarelli, 47-8.

[y] Hist. Frid. 169; Gobell. 33. She had preferred Frederick to the dauphin, "majus enim apud exteros quam apud suos nomen imperatoris habetur." (Hist. Frid. l. c.; cf. 254, 266; Freher, ii. 15-21; Plat. 312.) A column still commemorates the meeting between the pair. 'Handb. for Central Italy,' ed. 7, p. 214. [z] Hist. Frid. 295.

Lombard crown, but with that of Germany, which had been brought from Aix-la-Chapelle.[a] And on the 18th, the anniversary of the pope's own coronation, the imperial coronation was solemnized with a ceremonial which is minutely described by the chroniclers of the time. The emperor swore once more to support the Roman church, and, according to the traditional usage, he performed the "office of a groom" by leading the pope's horse a few steps.[b]

After a short visit to king Alfonso at Naples, where he was received with great magnificence,[c] Frederick again spent three days at Rome; but whereas he and the Germans had pressed for a general council, to be held in Germany, he now allowed himself to be drawn into asking, by means of a long and eloquent speech delivered by Piccolomini before the cardinals, that a crusade might be undertaken.[d] To this Nicolas, who well knew the emperor's unfitness for the command of such an expedition, replied that he strongly desired a crusade, but that the other powers of Christendom must be consulted before anything could be determined.[e]

Frederick, on his return to Germany, found that his

[a] Hist. Frid. 287; Infessura, in Eccard, ii. 1886. The rights of Milan as to coronation were reserved, in consequence of a protest by ambassadors. Hist. Frid. 287; cf. Rayn. 1452. 2.

[b] Hist. Frid. 292-3; Vespasian, in Murat. xxv. 285; Jan. Manetti, ib. 941; Gregorov. vii. 123. The crown and other imperial insignia, supposed to be Charlemagne's, had been brought from Nuremberg. But Piccolomini thought that the sword must be no older than Charles IV.'s time, because the Bohemian lion was engraved on it. (Hist. Frid. 292.) Until the imperial coronation, Frederick had taken his place, as king of the Romans, after the first cardinal, while the young Ladislaus, who accompanied him, was placed below all but two of the cardinals. (Ib. 290.) Valla, in his treatise on the Donation, had said that it was a contradiction to crown as emperor one who had renounced Rome; that the Romans ought to have the power of giving the crown. 'Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Pref.' ii. 153.

[c] Hist. Frid. 298; Giorn. Napol. in Murat. xx. 1131; Vespas. in Mai, Spicil. i. 84.

[d] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 399; Hist. Frid. 307; Rayn. 1452. 4, seqq.; Gregorov. vii. 115; Giesel. II. iv. 105; Voigt, ii. 53.

[e] Hist. Frid. 318; Schröckh, xxxii. 183.

coronation had not procured him any additional power.[f] The Hungarians and Bohemians urged him to give up to them the young Ladislaus, whom he had carried with him to Italy, where attempts had been made to rescue the prince from his guardianship;[g] and although the pope threatened them with excommunication, they extorted the surrender of their sovereign by force of arms.[h]

A.D. 1452.

The attempt of Stephen Porcaro to effect a revolution at Rome after the death of Eugenius IV. has already been related. Nicolas, in accordance with his usual policy of conciliation, and in the hope of gaining this man, appointed him podestà of Anagni; but Porcaro's restless spirit led him back to Rome, where, at the celebration of a popular festival, he again endeavoured to excite the multitude to throw off the papal yoke. In consequence of this he was banished to Bologna, where a liberal allowance was provided for him, but with the condition that he should every day present himself before the cardinal-legate Bessarion.[i] By such restraint his republican zeal and his hatred of the hierarchical government were exasperated; he was in the habit of declaiming, with an application to himself, the famous verses in which Petrarch had been supposed to have stimulated the energies of Rienzi.[k] By correspondence with his relations and friends at Rome, he organized a conspi-

[f] See Hist. Frid. 349.

[g] The discontented party wrote to the Roman court that his purpose was "ut quem ferro non audet extinguere, cœli mutatio perimat." (Hist. Frid. 264.) The emperor indignantly noticed this charge in a speech to the pope. (Ib. 265.) Ladislaus was left at Rome while Frederick went to Naples, lest Alfonso's claim to Hungary should produce some collision; and in the meantime he was tempted to escape, but the scheme was betrayed. (Ib. 305.) Other attempts were made at Florence. (Ib. 322-6.) Æneas Sylvius says that much mischief was prompted by the university of Vienna, which was antipapal. Ib. 351, 357; Gobell. 36-7.

[h] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 60; Hist. Frid. 340-1, 394; Coxe, i. 206; Voigt, ii. 65-73.

[i] Platina, 314.

[k] See vol. vii. p. 155. Machiavelli, Ist. Fiorent. ii. 122; Gibbon, vi. 203; Sism. vii. 173; Gregorov. vii. 129.

racy,[l] which was to be carried out on the Epiphany, 1453, by forcing a way into the Vatican and setting the palace on fire, surprising the pope and cardinals while engaged in a solemn mass, and carrying off Nicolas, to be used as a hostage in order to obtain possession of the fortress of St. Angelo; after which a republic was to be established, with Porcaro at its head as tribune.[m]

A few days before the time appointed, Porcaro, having excused himself under the plea of sickness from waiting on the legate as usual, made his escape from Bologna and joined his accomplices in Rome.[n] But his absence was speedily discovered and reported to the papal government, while some of the conspirators also betrayed the design. Porcaro was arrested, and, after having in vain begged that he might be allowed to address the people, whom he expected to rise for his deliverance, he was hanged by night from a tower of the castle of St. Angelo.[o] Many of his kinsmen and confederates—some of them brought from distant cities, where they had sought a refuge—were also put to death; and in order to suppress utterly the spirit which had projected the late plot, cruelty, and even treachery, were employed.[p] Nicolas, deeply morti-

Jan. 9, 1453.

[l] From some words of Alberti (De Porc. Conjur. in Murat. xxv.),—"Video sane quo stent loco res Italiæ; intelligo qui sint, quibus hic perturbata esse omnia conducat,"—and from his speaking of "extrinsecos impulsores," Burckhardt infers that Porcaro was in an understanding with some Italian governments. Cultur der Renaissance, 83.

[m] It has been said by some later writers that the design was to murder the pope; but, although the conspirators would probably not have shrunk from this if pressed by circumstances, it would seem that their primary intention was only such as is described in the text. See Æn. Sylv. de Europa, 460; Infessura, in Eccard, ii. 1888; Albert. in Murat. xxv. 312; Antonin. 556 (who says that the golden chains intended for the pope were found); Gregorov. vii. 131.

[n] Platina, 314.

[o] Ib.; Antonin. 556; Reumont, III. i. 124; Gregorov. vii. 132.

[p] Infess. 1887; Reumont, III. i. 125; Gregorov. vii. 134. It is said that Nicolas put a man to death after having promised a pardon to him,—forgetting in the morning the orders which he had given over night, when under the influence of wine. (Infess. 1889.) But against the charge of drunkenness he is defended by Vespa-

fied by the ingratitude of the Romans, among whom much sympathy was displayed towards Porcaro and his associates, and perhaps affected by remorse for the late excesses of severity, became from this time reserved, melancholy, and distrustful. From having been accustomed to show himself familiarly in public, he rarely appeared, and was difficult of access; the gout, from which he had suffered since the time of his election, became more acute and was complicated by other disorders; and he sank into a rapid decay.[q] To those who were admitted into his confidence he deplored the insincerity of men, declared himself to be miserable in his great dignity, and expressed a vain wish that he could again become Master Thomas of Sarzana.[r]

Within a few months after the conspiracy of the Porcari, tidings of an overwhelming calamity were received from the east. The emperor John Palæologus, alarmed by the discontent of his subjects, and finding little benefit from the alliance with the Latins which had been purchased by the concessions of Florence, had in his last years renounced the union of the churches. But his son and successor, Constantine, under the pressure of increased danger from the Turks, under Mahomet, the son of Amurath II., had again turned in supplication to the west, professing repentance, and offering to return to communion with the Roman church.[s] The pope, after reproving the Greeks for their breach of engagements, expressed his willingness to receive them once more,[t] and

sian, who says that it arose from the fact of his having imported good wine, which, however, was really used only for presents. (Murat. xxv. 276.) This writer's assertion that no one but Stephen Porcaro suffered for the conspiracy (286) must be untrue. It is curious to find the Porcaro affair discussed a few weeks later in the Canterbury convocation, when it was proposed that the pope should be entreated to leave Rome for some safer place. Wilkins, iii. 562.

[q] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 138; Manetti, 943-6; Antonin. 550; Platina, 314; Vespas. 286-7.

[r] Ib. 287-90.

[s] Ducas, 141; Rayn. 1451. 1; Gibbon, vi. 294-6.

[t] Rayn. 1451. 1-2; or Migne, Patrol. Gr. clxi. 1201, seqq.

prepared to send some galleys to their assistance, while cardinal Isidore, himself a Greek, and formerly metropolitan of Russia, was commissioned to carry out the reconciliation.[u] But although Isidore found some ecclesiastics and the higher laity ready to comply, the reunion was viewed with abhorrence by the great body of the clergy, and yet more strongly by the monks and female recluses; while the common people in the taverns uttered curses against it, and drank to the image of the blessed Virgin, imploring her aid against the Turks, and rejecting that of the Latins.[x] And when, after the decrees of Florence had again been signed, Dec. 12, a solemn thanksgiving was celebrated in 1452. St. Sophia's, the more rigid of the Greeks, disgusted by the introduction of Latin peculiarities into the service, avoided the great church as if it were contaminated, "like a Jewish synagogue."[y] It was in vain that the more courtly party pleaded that their compliances were insincere, and were intended to last only until their country should have been delivered by the help of the Latins. The Greeks in general abjured the pope and his communion; and during the following Lent the clergy in the confessionals excited their penitents to oppose the union, and to refuse the sacraments and other rites at the hands of any who favoured it.[z] So violent was the feeling against the Latins, that a great official declared that he would rather see a Turkish turban than a cardinal's hat in Constantinople.[a]

Meanwhile Mahomet pressed more and more closely on the city,[b] and on the 6th of April 1453 laid formal siege to it.[c] The emperor, in his extremity, was obliged

[u] Ducas, 142; Platina, 313; Rayn. 1453. 2.

[x] Ducas, 142-3.

[y] Ib. 143, 148; Gibbon, vi. 296, 298; Finlay, 'Gr. and Byz. Empires,' ii. 626.

[z] Ducas, 146; Gibbon, vi. 296-7.

[a] *Κρειττότερόν ἐστιν εἰδέναι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει φακιόλιον βασιλεῦον Τούρκων ἢ καλύπτραν Λατινικήν.* Ducas, 148.

[b] See G. Phranz. l. iii.

[c] L. Chalcocond. 203; Gibbon, vi. 204; Hammer, i. 526; Finlay, ii. 633.

to despoil the churches of their treasures for the payment of his foreign auxiliaries, with the promise of fourfold restoration:[d] but the end was at hand. On the 29th of May—a day which had been determined by astrological calculations—the final assault was made, and the capital of eastern Christendom became the prey of the victorious Turks.[e] The body of the emperor, who in his last days had displayed heroic qualities, was, after a long search, found beneath a heap of dead.[f] Isidore, who for a time was supposed to have perished, escaped in disguise,[g] and, after many adventures, was able to reach Italy in safety.[h] Spoliation, destruction, profanity, far exceeding the outrages which had disgraced the Latin conquest of Constantinople,[i] were committed, but might in the comparison have pleaded the excuse that the actors were not professedly Christians.[k] The treasures of Greek learning were destroyed or dispersed; St. Sophia's, after having been the scene of gross profanations, was turned into a mosque; monasteries were given over to dervishes or to workmen of low occupations;[l] the patriarch, George Scholaris (or Gennadius), who had retired to a monastery, but had continued to be the oracle of the party opposed to Rome, was chosen anew by some representatives of the Christian community, under an order of the sultan;[m]

[d] Phranz. iii. 4; Gibbon, vi. 299, 305. He alleged the example of David, who ate the shewbread in necessity.

[e] Hammer, i. 546.

[f] Ducas, 161; Phranz. iii. 8-9; Rayn. 1453. 5; Nauclerus, 1081; Hammer, i. 548. There are differences as to the circumstances of his death.

[g] According to Æneas Sylvius, he exchanged dresses with the corpse of a man who resembled him. Gobell. 300.

[h] Antonin. 575; Dach. Spicil. iii. 793; Platina, 314; Ducas, 162-5, 176; L. Chalcocond. 211; Gibbon, vi. 311.

[i] See vol. vi. p. 73.

[k] Isid. in Antonin. 576; L. Chalcoc. 209-11; Phranz. iii. 8; Naucler. 1081; Trithem. Chron. Sponh. A.D. 1453; Krantz, 'Wandalia,' 281; Chron. Belgic. in Pistor. iii. 412; Gibbon, vi. 314-15; Hammer, i. 549-82.

[l] Ducas, 168, 179; Phranz. iii. 8, 11.

[m] Gibbon, vi. 297, 319, 320; Hammer, ii. 1-3. Allatius resolves him into two persons (De Eccl. Or. et Occid. Perp. Consens. 959); but the contrary view has prevailed. (See Fabricius, xi. 349-60; Bayle, art. *Mahomet II.* n. G.; Finlay, 'Greece under Ottoman and Venetian Dominion,' 161-3; Hefele, vii. 709. G. Phranzes says that

and the churches of the city were shared between the Christians and the Mussulman conquerors, until this countenance of the subject religion was ended sixty years later by sultan Selim.[n]

Among the sovereigns of the west, divided as they were by their own differences, and little interested in the Greeks, the loss of Constantinople failed to produce such a feeling as had been aroused by similar calamities in former days.[o] The emperor Frederick wept, and again expressed his wish for a crusade; but he took no active measures.[p] Philip, duke of Burgundy, who in power, wealth, and splendour was among the foremost princes of Europe,[q] alone manifested a stronger zeal.

Feb. 1454.

At a great festival, held at Lille, a lady representing the church appeared before his court, seated on an elephant led by a giant, and in a versified speech entreated assistance. The herald of the Golden Fleece then brought in a live pheasant, richly adorned with jewels. The duke delivered to him a paper containing a vow "to God, the blessed Virgin, the ladies, and the pheasant," that he would succour the church in her distress; and he was followed by his son Charles, count of Charolois, by the duke of Cleves, and a multitude of nobles and knights, who all in like form pledged themselves to

the patriarch had died, and that the sultan ordered a new election, whereupon G. Scholaris, *a layman*, was chosen by the bishop and a few other clergy and laity, and thereupon called himself Gennadius. This writer's account of the honours paid by Mahomet to the patriarch is curious. (iii. 61.) See Gibbon, l. c.

[n] Phranz. iii. 11; Gibbon, vi. 320; Hammer, ii. 540. Phranzes says that Mahomet's conciliatory measures were intended only to attract Christians to the city. l. iii. fin.

[o] St. Antoninus says that the Greeks had deserved the ruin of their empire, by having twelve times withdrawn from the communion of Rome (557), and that they might have saved themselves if they had chosen to spend their money for the public good, instead of hoarding it privately. (575.) Phranzes combats the assertion of the Latins that the fall of the empire was to be regarded as a punishment of religious error. iv. 1.

[p] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 163; Schröckh, xxxii. 189.

[q] Comines, in Petitot, xi. 345; Martin, vii. 17.

the holy enterprise.[r] But instead of carrying out this vow as he had intended, the duke found himself obliged, in consequence of the enormous cost of the Lille festivities, to break up his household for a time, and to travel in Germany and Switzerland, where he still endeavoured to promote the cause of the crusade.[s]

To Nicolas the loss of Constantinople appeared in all its importance. Not only had the Byzantine empire fallen, but its ruin drew after it that of many lesser Christian principalities in the east; and the insatiable ambition of Mahomet seemed to design nothing less than a conquest of all Christendom.[t] In the end of September 1453, the pope sent forth a bull, in which he declared the founder of Islam to be the great red dragon of the Apocalypse, and, after dwelling on the conquest of Constantinople by Mahomet II. and his designs against western Christendom, he exhorts all princes, by the remembrance of their baptismal and coronation vows, to take arms in behalf of the faith. Indulgences are promised, both for personal service and to those who should furnish soldiers. The pope binds himself to devote to the cause all the payments which he should receive for institution to sees and other benefices; he requires a tenth from the clergy, and he charges the Christian world to maintain peace within itself.[u] But the popes could not now rouse all Europe for a war against the infidels, as at an earlier time.

Sept. 30.

Piccolomini was employed to stir up the princes of Germany, while John of Capistrano, an Observant friar, whose eloquence was unequalled among his contemporaries in its sway over the popular heart, was sent into the same

[r] Oliv. de la Marche, in Petitot, xi. 177, seqq.; Matt. de Coussy, in Monstrelet ed. Buchon, xi. 109, seqq.; Barante, 'Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne,' ed. iii. t. viii. 9, seqq.; Michelet, v. 363, seqq.

[s] Sism. Hist. Fr. xiii. 578. Krantz, Wand. 281; Gibbon, vi. 322.

[u] Rayn. 1453. 9.

country as a preacher of the new crusade.[x] But although Æneas Sylvius employed his powers of persuasion in diets at Ratisbon (where Philip of Burgundy appeared),[y] at Frankfort, and at Neustadt,[z] he found that the Germans were animated by a feeling of distrust, which arose out of the late sacrifice of their ecclesiastical liberties.[a] It was supposed that the pope intended, under pretext of the crusade, to get money for himself; and reproaches were cast on Nicolas for having spent large sums on needless fortifications, while he allowed the capital of the east to fall into the hands of the infidels.[b] But Piccolomini represents himself as so far successful, that the diet of Frankfort, in October 1454, promised to raise 10,000 horse and 32,000 foot for a crusade in Hungary.[c] Apr. 1454—Apr. 1455.

[x] Wadding, xii. 239, seqq. John was born in 1386, at Capistrano, near Aquila, and before becoming a friar had been a lawyer and a married man. (Acta SS., Oct. 23, 272-6.) He preached in Latin, while one of his brethren took notes of the discourse, and interpreted it at a later hour; but it would seem that this interpretation was hardly needed, as John's looks and gestures are said to have conveyed his meaning to those who did not understand his words. (Krantz, Saxonia, 308; Chron. Magn. Belg. in Pistorius, iii. 416; Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 176-80.) Krantz seems to think his miracles doubtful. (l. c.) He had been a disciple of Bernardine of Siena, for whose canonization he did much. (Acta SS. 318, 462, 509.) While the matter was in agitation, another Franciscan, named Thomas, died at Rieti, and so many miracles were done at his tomb that there was reason to fear lest the popular feeling for this new saint should impede the canonization of Bernardine; but John, going to the tomb, charged Thomas to desist from doing miracles until Bernardine's glory should have been established by the pope; and Thomas in consequence suspended the exercise of his powers for four years. (Wadding, xi. 299.) In his preaching John used to display a cap which had belonged to his master, for which he claimed miraculous powers; and, like him, he persuaded women to burn their vanities of dress, and even their instruments of gaming, etc., in a great bonfire. (Krantz, l. c.; Ist. Bresciana, in Murat. xx. 867, where there is a remarkable account of his labours at Brescia.) See also the Acta SS., Oct. 23, pp. 272-6; and Wadding.

[y] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 127, p. 655; Comment. 39-40; M. de Coussy, 190. See, too, the letter of Frederick to Charles VII. of France, in Dach. Spicil. iii. 795.

[z] Comment. 40-2.

[a] Ib. 41; Giesel. II. iv. 107; Voigt, ii. 101, seqq.

[b] Æn. Sylv. Comment. 41.

[c] "Oravit ille duabus ferme horis, ita intentis animis auditus, ut nemo unquam exspuerit (!), nemo ab orantis vultu oculos suos averterit, nemo non

The death of Nicolas, which took place on the 24th of March 1455,[d] for a time checked these attempts. In his last hours he called around him the cardinals, and took leave of them in a long address, recounting the chief events of his papacy, his acts, and his designs. He dwelt on the authority of the Roman see, he exhorted them to love and maintain the church, and, after bestowing his blessing on them, he expired.[e]

Fifteen out of the twenty cardinals met for the election of a successor. It seemed as if Bessarion were about to be pope; but some members of the college, who felt his strictness of character as a reproach of their own laxity,[f] objected that it would be a reflection on the Latin church if they should elect a Greek neophyte, who had not yet shaved off his beard; and the choice

April 8, 1455. fell, by way of access, on Alfonso Borja or Borgia, a native of Valencia, who took the name of Calixtus III.[g]

Borgia had been a student and a professor in the Spanish university of Lerida, and was esteemed the greatest jurist of his time. Even when pope, he retained in his mind all the details of ecclesiastical and civil law, and took pleasure in answering legal questions.[h] He had received preferment from his countryman Benedict XIII., and was afterwards employed by Alfonso of Aragon in negotiating for the extinction of the schism which Benedict

brevem ejus orationem existimaverit, nemo non invitus finem acceperit." (Comment. 41.) See his speech, Ep. 131; Rayn. 1454. 4; Schröckh, xxxii. 192, 253. Gieseler says that his oratorical vanity exaggerated the effect. II. iv. 107; cf. Voigt, ii. 124.

[d] Mansi in Rayn. t. x. 23.

[e] Manetti, 947, seqq. See Milm. vi. 185-6; Gregorov. vii. 141.

[f] Æn. Sylv. Comment. 42. "Leves et voluptuosi." Platina, Panegyr. in Bessar. 80.

[g] Schröckh, xxxii. 197; Æn. Sylv. Comment. 43; Mariana, ii. 414.

[h] Æn. Sylv. de Europa, 460; Comment. 43; Platina, 317. Pius II. said to the French ambassadors, at the congress of Mantua, "Fuit enim doctrina singulari præditus, et suo tempore civilis sapientiæ facile princeps, et maximarum rerum experientia callens, et qui multorum mores vidit et urbes." Hard. ix. 1425.

had attempted to perpetuate.[j] For this service Martin V. rewarded him with the bishoprick of his native city.[k] He became Alfonso's most trusted counsellor; and, having been sent by him to Eugenius IV., while resident at Florence, he was induced by Eugenius to attach himself to the papal court, and was raised by him to the dignity of cardinal.[l] Perhaps his advanced age — seventy seven — may have contributed to promote his elevation to the papacy.[m]

Calixtus despised the elegant and costly tastes of his predecessor, whom he openly blamed for having spent on manuscripts and ornamental things the money which might have been employed in a war against the Turks. Buildings which Nicolas had begun were suspended, and the materials which had been collected for them were dispersed.[n] To the holy war Calixtus devoted himself with a zeal which was second only to his regard for the interest of his family. Immediately on his election he recorded a solemn vow to employ all possible weapons, spiritual and temporal, against the Turks.[o] He sent forth a bull, summoning the nations of the west to serve for half a year from the 1st of March 1456.[p] Every day at noon the bells of all churches were to be rung, and all Christians were at the sound to pray for the success of the crusade.[q] He freely spent the treasures which Nicolas,

[j] Platina, 317. See above, p. 9.

[k] Gregorov. vii. 147.

[l] Plat. 317; Schröckh, xxxii. 198 9.

[m] Vespas. in Mai, i. 190.

[n] Plat. 320; Gregorov. vii. 147, 615. Von Reumont says that his indifference to literature has been exaggerated. III. i. 333.

[o] Dach. Spicil. iii. 797. Platina says that he showed a book in which the vow was entered, "Ego Callistus pontifex," etc., and that all who saw it "admirati sunt quod pontificatus nomen sibi assumpsisset ante adeptam dignitatem." (318; see Giesel. II. iv. 108.) But there is nothing marvellous in the more probable statement of the cardinals to the French king — "Qua in re ita fervens . . . extitit, ut, cum primum electus fuerit, electionem suam in Deum referens, votum solemnissimum emiserit pro ejus civitatis liberatione; cujus voti copiam præsentibus includi fecimus." Dach. Spicil. iii. 798

[p] Rayn. 1455. 20.

[q] Antonin. 578. A comet appeared, and was supposed to portend calamity. The pope directed that prayers should be made for turning its effects against the Turks. Platina, 318.

notwithstanding his munificent expenditure, had left in the papal coffers. He even alienated jewels and other church property for the purpose of aiding the crusade.[r] He entered into correspondence with the oriental enemies of the Turks, in order to secure their co-operation.[s] He equipped a fleet against the enemy,[t] and sent aid to Scanderbeg, the chief who for a quarter of a century kept up an incessant warfare against the Turks among the mountains of Albania.[u] Legates were sent into all countries, to appease the quarrels of Christian princes and to animate them for the holy war, while hosts of friars were commissioned to carry out a like work among the people.[x]

In this John of Capistrano especially distinguished himself. The Turks, under Mahomet, laid siege to Belgrade; but there they encountered the valour and conduct of John Huniades, and John of Capistrano, by his eloquence, collected a force of 40,000 for the defence.[y] These were, indeed, an undisciplined and rudely-armed multitude, as the nobles, with very few exceptions, held aloof from the enterprise;[z] but the generalship of Huni-

July—Aug. 1456. ades, and the exhortations and prayers of the friar, controlled and animated them; and after

[r] Rayn. 1456. 49.

[s] Platina, 320; Rayn. 1456. 45; 1457. 66, seqq.

[t] Gregorov. vii. 150. The famous Jacques Cœur, whose name is especially connected with the city of Bourges, after having been disgraced and ruined by the French king, was admiral of the papal fleet. Basin, i. 316.

[u] Rayn. 1457. 20-8; 1458. 14; Chalcocond. 229, seqq.; Schröckh, xxxii. 200; Gibbon, vi. 274; Hammer, i. 480. There is a life of Scanderbeg (George Castriot) by Barletti in Lonicerus.

[x] Antonin. 578; Plat. 318. See the pope's letter to Ladislaus of Hungary in Bekynton's Correspondence, No. 249; the commission to the archbishop of Armagh for a collection, from which even the mendicant orders were not to be exempt, in Theiner, Monum. 402, seqq.; and Mariana's account of the preaching of the crusade in Spain. ii. 419.

[y] Nic. de Fara, in Acta SS. Oct. 23, p. 470; Æn. Sylv., Comment. 600. Yet Æneas says of him, "Quem populi velut prophetam putabant, *quamvis in bello contra Turcas suadendo parum proficeret.*" Ib. 41.

[z] "Citizens, peasants, students, and friars, armed with sticks, clubs, slings, and staves." Hammer, ii. 23.

a siege of forty-six days the Turks were driven off with great loss.[a] But the nations of the west, instead of taking from this success a warning to unite for the common cause of Christendom, were encouraged by it to think themselves secure from danger, and were confirmed in their apathy.[b]

Charles of France forbade the publication of the pope's bulls within his dominions, lest the crusade should deprive him of strength which he needed against the English; but he allowed a collection of a tenth for the expedition.[c] By some universities, and by a portion of the clergy, an appeal was made to a general council against the new impost; but the university of Paris, which had taken the lead in this movement, afterwards submitted to pay, with the understanding that the money should be regarded as a pious aid, and that it was given for once only.[d] Alfonso of Aragon and Sicily promised to assist, but, after having got the crusading tithe into his hands, he turned it against the Genoese, whom he described as

[a] Callistus, in Rayn. 1456. 24; Bekynton, Corresp. 260-1; Chalcocond. 221-4; Æn. Sylv. Hist. Bohem. c. 65; Rayn. 1456. 14-37; Wadding, A.D. 1456; Gibbon, vi. 273; Hammer, ii. 21-5; Naucler. 1083; Palacky, IV. i. 393-8. Within about two months after the repulse, both Huniades and John of Capistrano were dead. (Aug. 11—Oct. 23, Wadding, xii. 384.) Each had written an account of the affair, in which he made no mention of the other. "Ingens dulcedo gloriæ," says Piccolomini, "facilius contemnenda dicitur quam contemnitur. Spreverat Capistranus sæculi pompas, fugerat delicias, calcaverat avaritiam, libidinem subegerat; contemnere gloriam non potuit . . . Nemo est tam sanctus qui dulcedine gloriæ non capiatur." (Hist. Boh. c. 65; Hist. Frider. 463; see Bayle, art. *Capistran*, n. C.) Rinaldi (1456. 34), Wadding (xii. 368-71), and Father van Hecke (Acta SS., Oct. 23, pp. 381-4), combat the charge of vain-glory against Capistrano. When too feeble to walk without a staff, the friar comforted Huniades by daily and nightly visits. (Rayn. 56.) Attempts were made at the time to procure the honour of canonization for him (see Wadding, xii.-xiii.); but it was not bestowed until 1690. (Voigt, iii. 600-6; Van Hecke, 402.) In commemoration of the victory, Calixtus revived the festival of the Transfiguration. (Aug. 6.) Wadding, xii. 378; Van Hecke, 385; Hammer, ii. 25.

[b] Platina, 319: Rayn. 1456. 41; Coxe, i. 211. See Æn. Sylv. Ep. 139.

[c] Giesel. II. iv. 113. The pope remonstrated, and endeavoured to gain him by a gift of the golden rose. Rayn. 1456. 3, seqq.; 1457. 52-4.

[d] Ib. 55-7; Schröckh, xxxii. 227; Giesel. II. iv. 113.

the Turks of Europe;[e] and other princes limited their assistance to words.[f] But in Germany, where Carvajal was legate, a vehement spirit of opposition was manifested. The Germans not only thought that they had been defrauded by the concordat of Vienna, but complained that the terms of that agreement had been violated.[g] They talked of insisting on a pragmatic sanction; they cried out that they had been sufficiently drained of money under the pretext of crusading tenths, in order to feed the pope's rapacity.[h] Some of them ventured to question whether the papacy had been founded by the Saviour;[i] and there were threats of setting up a king of the Romans in opposition to the emperor, whose neglect of the duties of his station was loudly censured.[k] Piccolomini, whose services to the papacy had been rewarded successively by the bishopricks of Trieste and Siena, and whose views became more and more papal as he rose higher in ecclesiastical dignity, exerted himself indefatigably for the crusade. He wrote letters, attended diets, and made speeches in a tone which contrasts remarkably with that of his earlier acts at Basel.[l] In 1456 he was sent to convey the assurance of the emperor's obedience to the new pope, when he took the opportunity to deliver an eloquent oration in favour of the holy war,[m] and his late exertions were acknowledged by his promotion to the cardinalate.[n] In answer to the mutterings of Germany,

[e] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 129; Rayn. 1455. 34-5; 1456. 12, seqq.; 1457. 1, 63; Gregorov. vii. 151; Giesel. II. iv. 113.

[f] Schröckh, xxxii. 201.

[g] See Martin Mayer's letter prefixed to Æn. Sylv., 'Germania'; Planck, v. 488-91; Giesel. II. iv. 109.

[h] Schröckh, xxxii. 208; Giesel. II. iv. 110; Gregorov. vii. 151.

[i] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 301; Platina, 324.

[k] Schmidt, iv. 254; Giesel. II. iv. 110. See as to the indisposition to the crusade, Æn. Sylv. Ep. 127. July 5, 1454.

[l] Plat. 323; Giesel. II. iv. 116-19. In some cases he appealed to the meanest motives of interest. Giesel. II. iv. 115.

[m] Ep. 398.

[n] Ib., Epp. 178-9; Plat. 324; Gregorov. vii. 162. Frederick at his coronation as emperor had got a promise of this from Nicolas V. Comment. 36, 49; Voigt, ii. 148.

Calixtus himself wrote to the emperor that all the money which had been collected was spent on the war, and that more was needed; he did not hesitate to say that the observance of concordats depended wholly on the pope's grace, although he condescended to add that for his own part he would observe them.[o] And Piccolomini, who was probably the author of the pontifical letter, told the archbishop of Mentz, in his own name, that there could properly be no pact between a lord (such as the pope) and his subjects.[p] In order to set forth his views of the relations between the papacy and the Germans, the cardinal wrote his book on Germany. In this he defends the conduct of the pope in the various questions which had arisen. He meets the charge of drawing money from the poverty of Germany by dilating on its wealth, as displayed in the principal cities.[q] He contrasts the free cities of Germany, which owned subjection to the emperor alone, and enjoyed the greatest liberty anywhere known, with the Italian republics, such as Venice, Florence, and Siena, where all but the dominant few were alike slaves.[r] Dec. 18.

With the sovereign whose confidant he had formerly been, Calixtus was involved in serious difficulties.[s] Alfonso, being without lawful issue, had procured from pope Eugenius a document, by which his son Ferdinand was legitimatized, and was declared capable of holding the highest offices.[t] And this privilege had been con-

[o] "Quamvis liberrima sit apostolicæ sedis auctoritas, nullisque debeat pactionum vinculis exerceri, ex mera tamen liberalitate nostra . . . concordatis ipsis locum esse voluimus, nec patiemur ea violari dum Romanæ sedis gubernaculum retinebimus." Æn. Sylv. Ep. 381, p. 841, Aug. 31, 1457; Rayn. 1457. 40.

[p] Ep. 338.

[q] Thus he says of Nuremberg, "Quot ibi civium ædes invenias regibus dignas! Cuperent tam egregie Scotorum reges quam mediocres Nurimbergæ cives habitare." 1055.

[r] "Cum nec rebus suis uti ut libet, vel fari aut [liceat?] quæ velint, et gravissimis opprimantur pecuniarum exactionibus." (Compare with the 'Germania,' Ep. 369, to Martin Mayer.)

[s] See Giannone, iv. 318.

[t] "Ut quæcumque munera in regno

firmed by Nicolas, so as distinctly to make Ferdinand capable of succeeding to the Neapolitan crown, which Alfonso, regarding as his own acquisition, intended to bestow on his son, while the hereditary kingdom of Aragon was to fall to his own brother John.[u] Calixtus, however, although he had been himself Alfonso's agent in the negotiations with Eugenius, refused to confirm this —declaring that Ferdinand was not only illegitimate but supposititious, and that the consent of Eugenius had been got by surprise and under false pretences.[x] On Alfonso's death, in 1458, the pope claimed the kingdom as a fief which had lapsed to the Roman see, forbidding the people to swear to any claimant, and absolving them from any oath already taken.[y] It was believed that he intended to bestow the kingdom on his nephew Peter; while Charles, count of Viana, and John, a son of the old claimant René of Provence, on various grounds asserted pretensions to it.[z] The Neapolitans themselves, who desired to preserve the independence of their kingdom, were in favour of Ferdinand, who protested against the papal bull, and claimed to be king by the gift of God and by the consent of the Neapolitan estates.[a]

July 12.

The pope, old and gouty, spent much of his time in his sick-room, surrounded by friars, and by his three nephews, the children of his sisters. During the pontificates of Eugenius and of Nicolas, there had been no ground for complaint of undue family influence; but it was now found that the pope's kindred, with their partisans, who were invidiously styled the Catalans, engrossed all power, and an enormous share of office.[b] The first

Neapolitano obire posset." Rayn. 1444. 20; see Sism. vii. 222.

[u] Mariana, ii. 420; Sism. vii. 215.

[x] Giorn. Napol. in Murat. xx. 1132; Giann. IV. 317. He had also differences with Alfonso as to the appointment of bishops. Plat. 321.

[y] Rayn. 1458. 31; Plat. 320; Giann. iv. 316; Sism. vii. 224.

[z] Giann. l. xxvii. c. 1; Sism. vii. 228; Mariana, ii. 421.

[a] Schröckh, xxxii. 230; Sism. vii. 221, seqq.

[b] Gregorov. vii. 154-5. There is a

cardinal made by Calixtus was his nephew Lewis John Milano, whom he appointed legate of Bologna.[c] But his favours were yet more remarkably shown to his other nephews, Peter and Roderick Lançol or Lenzuol, whose father, in honour of his marriage into a family more distinguished than his own, took the name of Borgia, and thus unwittingly gave occasion for the proverbial blackness of infamy which has become attached to that name.[d] Among the offices heaped on Peter Borgia (who remained a layman) were those of vicar of Benevento and Terracina, captain of St. Angelo, prefect of Rome, and standard-bearer of the church; together with the dukedom of Spoleto, to which (as we have seen) it was supposed that the kingdom of Naples was to be added.[e] The younger brother, Roderick, at the age of twenty-two, was raised to the college of cardinals,[f] in disregard of the remonstrances of its most eminent members; he was appointed chancellor of the Roman church, legate of the Marches, and was loaded with ecclesiastical benefices.[g] Under the administration of these nephews Rome fell into a frightful state of disorder; justice was corrupted, robbery and murder were unpunished.[h]

1456.

story that as cardinal Capranica (who had himself seemed likely to be pope) was going home after the election of Calixtus, a beggar asked alms of him on the ground of having escaped from the Catalans (who were notorious as pirates). "Give *me* something," answered the cardinal, "for I am worse off. Thou art out of their hands, and I am in them." B. Poggius, Vita Capran. in Baluz. i. 348; Vespas. in Mai, i. 191.

[c] Ciacon. ii. 989.

[d] Mariana, ii. 414; Gregorov. vii. 152.

[e] Mariana, ii. 421; Murat. Annal. IX. ii. 105; Gregorov. vii. 153-4, 156.

[f] See Rayn. 1456. 71; 1458. 41.

[g] B. Poggius, in Baluz. i. 348; Gregorov. vii. 153. The adroit Piccolomini, writing under Calixtus, says: "Quorum etsi fuit ætas aliquanto minor quam tanta dignitas videretur exposcere, doctrina tamen et circumspectio et morum suavitas id honoris haud injuriose consecuta censeretur." (De Europa, 461.) "Officium cancellariæ obtinet Rodericus Borgia . . . quamvis juvenili ætate, moribus tamen et prudentia senilibus, et qui patritii doctrinam redoliturus videatur." (De Germania, 1079.) The nepotism of Calixtus was in contrast with his own earlier practice, when, as bishop of Valencia, he had refused all pluralities. Plat. 320.

[h] Gregorov. vii. 156.

Before the quarrel as to Naples had time to come to a height, Calixtus died, on the 6th of August 1458. Immediately the Roman populace, instigated by the Orsini, broke out into insurrection against the Colonnas and the Catalan party, of whom some were killed and some were committed to prison.[l] The prefect, Peter Borgia, was driven to take flight, and, after having with difficulty escaped down the Tiber, made his way to Civita Vecchia. But in the course of his escape he was seized with a fever, of which he died in the harbour of that place, leaving his wealth to swell the treasures of his brother Roderick.[k]

On the 16th of August, eighteen cardinals met in conclave.[l] Capranica, whom his experience and his merits had appeared to mark out as worthiest of the papacy, had died during the solemnities of the late pope's funeral.[m] Barbo, Estouteville, and Calandrino were brought forward, but after several scrutinies it appeared that no one had the necessary proportion of votes; and recourse was had to the method of *access*.[n] Roderick Borgia, chancellor of the church, then stood forward, declaring himself for the cardinal of Siena; and on him—Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini—the choice of the electors fell.[o] Bessarion, in the name of those who had voted for the French cardinal, expressed their high sense of the new pope's worthiness, and said that the weakness of his health was the only reason why they had refrained from voting for him at a time when bodily energy seemed to be necessary for the office.[p] With an allusion, as it would seem, to the favourite Virgilian epithet of Æneas, Piccolomini took the name of Pius, which had before been borne by only a

[l] M. Cannesius, Vita Pauli II. in Murat. III. ii. 1003; Plat. 320.

[k] Gregorov. vii. 156.

[l] Gobell. Comment. 52.

[m] B. Pogg. in Baluz. Misc. i. 351; Plat. 321; Gobell. Comment. 52; Rayn. 1458. 42-4.

[n] Comment. 53; Rayn. 1458. 1. See above, p. 130.

[o] Comment. 53-4; Voigt, iii. 9.

[p] Comment. 54.

single pope, and at a date so remote as the second century.[q]

Of all the cardinals, Piccolomini was the most widely famous. He had served many masters, had been engaged in opposite interests, and had been trained by a vast experience of affairs. His character was not saintly, or in any way elevated; he represented the literary culture of his time, but, above all things, he was a politician. Political dexterity, variety of accomplishments, eloquence, tact, personal fascination, were the gifts by which he had risen, and on which he relied.[r] Six years before, as he was descending the Ciminean range, near Viterbo, in attendance on Frederick, who was then on his way to the Roman coronation,[s] the emperor had foretold to him the dignity which he had now attained.[t] The election was popular among the Romans, who were weary of the Catalan domination;[u] and the report of it was received with satisfaction by princes and others in foreign countries, to whom the new pope was personally known.[x]

At the election, the cardinals had entered into a capitulation in which there were some novel features. The future pope was bound to carry on the war against the Turks, to reform the curia, to secure a provision for the cardinals, to act by their advice, to choose them according to the decrees of Constance,[y] without regard to the importunities of princes. Once a year the cardinals were to meet, in order to inquire as to his performance of his engagements; and they were authorized to admonish him in case of failure.[z]

Pius was much attached to his native place, Corsignano, and to Siena, the home of his ancestors; and he

[q] Voigt, iii. 11; Gregorov. vii. 164.
[r] Comment. 35.
[s] See p. 146.
[t] Gregorov. vii. 156-60.
[u] Comment. 55; Leod. Cribelli in Murat. xxiii. 65; Gregorov. vii. 165; Reumont, III. i. 135.
[x] Comment. 56-7.
[y] See Book VIII. c. viii.
[z] Rayn. 1458. 5, seqq.

showed to the Sienese a favour which excited jealousy and animadversion. To this favour some cardinals owed their places in the college; even St. Catharine was indebted to it for her canonization.[a] He raised the see of Siena to metropolitical dignity, and enriched the church with relics and other gifts;[b] he made Corsignano a bishoprick, under the new name of Pienza, and adorned it with a cathedral, a palace, and other buildings, which to our own day stand in remarkable contrast with the small size and scanty population of the town.[c] But although he admired and sympathized with the tastes of Nicolas V., he did not venture to build at Rome, with the exception of some small restorations and improvements;[d] and the hopes with which the literary class may naturally have looked to a pope who might be regarded as one of themselves, were disappointed in so far as concerned the direct encouragement of literature, although he bestowed many court offices and benefices on men of learning.[e] The war against the Turks engrossed his care, and left him no funds to spare for the patronage of arts or of letters. His personal tastes and habits were simple: he delighted in the pure air of the country, and intensely

[a] Comment. 24-6, 96; Rayn. 1461. 123-7; Voigt, iii. 35; Gregorov. vii. 193. Erasmus has a fling at Pius's motives for canonizing St. Catharine, "in gratiam ordinis et urbis." Apotheosis Capnionis, Opp. i. 692.

[b] Comment. 84; Oldoin. in Ciacon. ii. 1018-21; Gregorov. vii. 174.

[c] Comment. 79, 377-8, 425, seqq.; Plat. 328; Ughelli, i. 1174-7; Hamb. for Central Italy; Reumont, III. i. 93. Gregory Heimburg reflects on his care for Pienza and for his own family — "Qui Piccolomineis Pientiaque thesaurizat." (Apol. c. Epist. Feltr., in Goldast, ii. 1608, 1617; cf. Voigt, iii. 28.) Some cardinals also built at Pienza. (Comment. 433.) As to the cathedral of Pienza, the pope made a remarkable decree. There were to be no burials in it, "exceptis tumulis qui sacerdotibus et episcopis assignati sunt." "Nemo candorem parietum atque columnarum violato; nemo picturas facito; nemo tabulas appendito; nemo capellas plures quam sint, aut altaria, erigito; nemo formam tpsius templi mutato. Si quis contra fecerit, anathema esto, solius Romani pontificis, excepto mortis articulo, auctoritate absolvendus." Comment. 432.

[d] Campanus in Murat. III. ii. 985; Gregorov. vii. 635.

[e] Plat. 328; Gregorov. vii. 167. See Voigt, iii. 608.

enjoyed the beauties of nature ;[f] and the rapidity of his movements disgusted the formal officers of the court, although these movements did not really interfere with his attention to the details of business.[g]

Pius wisely abandoned his predecessor's policy as to Naples. He acknowledged Ferdinand on certain conditions, and sent a cardinal to officiate at his coronation ; and the reconciliation was cemented by a marriage between a nephew of the pope and an illegitimate daughter of the king.[h]

If the character of Pius was incapable of religious enthusiasm, he had yet many motives for continuing, in his new position, his endeavours to promote a crusade. The advance of the Mussulmans threatened Christendom and its civilization, and an energetic effort was required to oppose and to repel them ; perhaps, too, Pius may have thought to restore the greatness of the papacy by the same means which had enabled former popes to place themselves at the head of the European nations.[i] Within two months after his election, he sent forth an invitation to an assembly which was to be held at Mantua—a place selected as being convenient on the one hand for the pope, and on the other for the princes beyond the Alps.[k] The meeting was not to be an ecclesiastical council, but a diet or congress of princes ;[l] and so greatly was the imperial authority sunk, that no one questioned the pope's right to convoke such an assembly, or to assume to himself the presidency of it.[m] He instituted an order of knighthood, named after "the

Oct. 13.

[f] This taste is strongly displayed in many passages of the Commentaries, *e.g.*, 183-4, 250-2, 305-9, 380, 388, 396, seqq. ; 483-5, 554, 562, etc. See Burckhardt, 237.

[g] Plat. 329 ; Comment. 184.

[h] Antonin. 593 ; Plat. 329 ; Rayn. 1458. 20-49 ; 1461. 3, seqq. ; Sism. vii. 238-42 ; Voigt, iii. 27.

[i] Giesel. II. iv. 121 ; Gregorov. vii. 168.

[k] Comment. 60 ; Antonin. 593 ; Rayn. 1458. 14-16 ; Leod. Cribell. in Murat. xxiii. 65-76.

[l] "Diæta."

[m] Gregorov. vii. 177.

blessed Virgin Mary of Bethlehem" for the intended enterprise;[n] and on the 22nd of January he set out from Rome amidst the general lamentation (as he tells us) of his people.[o] In order to assure the Romans, whose misgivings were aroused by the remembrance of the long sojourn of the popes at Avignon, he had decreed that, if he should not return, the election of his successor should take place nowhere but at Rome.[p] When apprehensions were expressed that his enemies might take advantage of his absence to invade his territory, he answered that the temporal possessions of the papacy had often been lost and regained, but that if the spirituality should be lost, it could hardly be recovered.[q] Although only fifty-three years of age, Pius was prematurely broken in health;[r] and he suffered severely from illness as he made his way over the frozen Apennines.[s]

On arriving at Mantua, he found himself almost alone with his cardinals. A war was raging between the emperor and the son of Huniades, Matthias Corvinus, who had lately been chosen king of Hungary; and it is probable that Frederick may have gladly availed himself of this as an excuse from paying homage to a pope whom he had long known as his own servant.[t] He therefore did not appear in person, and the ambassadors whom he sent were so wanting in dignity and in ability[u] that the pope sharply reproved him by letter for the deficiencies of his representatives, as well as for his absence.[x] The French king, offended by the pope's

May 1459.

[n] Rayn. 1459. 2, seqq.

[o] "Desperavere omnes de reditu; ejulare per urbem fœminæ, ac pueri blasphemare, ac viri maledicere," etc. Comment. 61.

[p] Rayn. 1459. 1.

[q] Comment. 69.

[r] Voigt, iii. 14.

[s] Campan. in Murat. VII. ii. 987; Plat. 328; Schröckh, xxxii. 238. The journey is particularly described in the Commentaries.

[t] Schröckh, xxxii. 243, 245-6.

[u] "Licet viri præstabiles essent." Comment. 117.

[x] Ib.; Voigt, iii. 49. The emperor afterwards sent others. (Comment. 158.) Pius was also dissatisfied with the representatives of Castile and of England. 161.

policy as to Naples, declined the summons, and would not commit himself to the crusade.[a] England was too deeply engaged in the wars of York and Lancaster to spare any force for the general cause of Christendom.[b]

On the 1st of June, the pope opened the assembly. He expressed his disappointment at the scantiness of the attendance, which he contrasted on the one hand with the zeal which he himself had shown in despising the sufferings and the perils of the journey to Mantua, notwithstanding age, sickness, and the troubles which beset the Roman see, and on the other hand with the enthusiasm of the Turks in favour of their "most damned sect." And he dwelt on the ambition of the infidels, who had already made their way through Greece and Illyria into Hungary, and, unless checked, might be expected to overwhelm all Europe, to the ruin of the Christian religion.[c] Disregarding the remonstrances which were pressed on him, and the reports which were studiously circulated that the assembly was a hopeless failure,[d] he endeavoured to increase its numbers by addressing letters to the princes of Europe, in which he again earnestly urged them to appear at Mantua, or to send representatives.[e] In consequence of these letters the congress gradually increased, but not to any great degree.

The duke of Burgundy, although he had been persuaded by his councillors to remain at home, sent a splendid embassy, with the duke of Cleves at its head, to express his willingness to fulfil his vow to the pheasant, if other princes could be induced to settle their mutual quarrels, and to unite in the cause of Christendom.[f]

[a] See Æn. Sylv. Epp. 185-6.

[b] Platina, 395; Rayn. 1459. 70; see J. Whethamstede, i. 336 (Chron. and Mem.).

[c] Comment. 108; Hard. ix. 1389; Hist. Mantuan. in Murat. xx. 859.

[d] Comment. 109-10.

[e] Hard. ix. 1392; Malipiero, Annali Veneti, 7 (Archivio Storico Ital. vii. Florence, 1843).

[f] Comment. 114, 118-19, 121; Matt. de Coussy in Monstrel. xi. 328, seqq.; Chastellain, in Buchon, xlii. 68.

The duke of Milan and some of the smaller Italian princes appeared in person;[e] and at length, on the 16th of November, arrived a French legation, headed by the archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Paris.[f]

On the 26th of September, the pope delivered a speech which lasted three hours; but, although it was much admired for its eloquence,[g] it failed to raise any such enthusiasm as that which had vented itself in the *Dieu lo volt* of Clermont.[h] Of the cardinals who had accompanied him, Bessarion alone showed any zeal for the crusade.[i]

Much time was wasted by the ambassadors of princes in discussing their mutual differences.[k] The French, when asked what help might be expected from them, said that it was useless to speak of the subject while France was at war with England. To this the pope replied that the Hungarians would be destroyed by the common enemy before the French and the English were reconciled; and he suggested that both nations should contribute to the crusade in proportion to their numbers, so that the forces which remained at home might bear the same relations to each other as before. But this

[e] Comment. 131. See Æn. Sylv. Ep. 392.

[f] Comment. 155-6; N. Petit, in Dach. Spicil. iii. 801 (or in Latin, in Hard. ix. 1406).

[g] One who was present writes: "Il a gardé le style Libri Elegantiarum super hoc vocabulo *Pronontiatio*, car en matière et termes de douceur il tenoit doulce prolation, en accentuant et faisant les pauses de Gramaire sans riens oblier. En matière de grande acerbité il eslevoit sa voix, son ton, et en si bon organe, que tous les assistans prenoient moult grand playsir et delectation à l'ouyr." Dacher. Spicil. iii. 806.

[h] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 397; or Hard. ix. 1392. (See vol. iv. p. 387.) He himself says in the end of his speech, "O si adessent nunc Godfridus, Baldeuinus, etc., non sinerent profecto tot nos verba facere, sed assurgentes, ut olim coram Urbano secundo, prædecessore nostro, *Deus vult, Deus vult*, alacri voce clamarent. Vos taciti finem orationis exspectatis, nec hortamentis nostris moveri videmini." There are several other speeches of the pope at Mantua. (Hard. ix. 1409, 1414, 1437, etc.) Platina says that, although he spoke often on the same subjects, his speeches always seemed to be different, —"Tanta erat in homine elegantia et copia." (325.)

[i] Comment. 150; Platina, Paneg. in Bessar. 80.

[k] Comment. 158-9; Mariana, ii. 427.

ingenious proposal failed to draw forth any promise of help.[l] Of the Italian powers, some were persuaded to promise aid in money for three years;[m] but the Venetians would promise nothing, and the Florentines afterwards disavowed the engagements which their envoys had made for them.[n] The duke of Burgundy undertook to supply 6000 men.[o] The Germans, after many difficulties had been raised by Gregory Heimburg, who represented the emperor's brother, Albert of Austria,[p] and is described by the pope as having laboured to sow dissensions, were brought to renew the promise which they had made to pope Nicolas—that they would furnish 10,000 cavalry and 32,000 foot.[q] But in order to carry out this, the sanction of two diets was necessary; and those diets the pope took it on himself to summon, while, in order to compensate for this invasion of the imperial rights, he declared the emperor leader and captain-general of the crusade,[r] —a position for which Frederick was notoriously, and even ridiculously, unfit.[s]

On the 19th of January 1460, the pope dissolved the congress by a speech in which he reckoned the promises which he had received as amounting to 88,000 men, besides the assurance of co-operation from Scanderbeg and others in Greece, and the confident expectation of assistance from the enemies of the Turks on the east.[t]

Before leaving Mantua, Pius sent forth a bull which from its first word is known by the title of *Execrabilis*, declaring an appeal from a pope Jan. 18.

[l] Comment. 160.

[m] Hard. ix. 1442; Rayn. 1460. 8.

[n] Schröckh, xxxii. 254. The pope in a letter says that the Venetians had done much by themselves against the infidels, and that those who charged them with holding aloof would do well to imitate them. Malipieri, 17.

[o] Hard. ix. 1442.

[p] Comment. 164. See Schröckh, xxxii. 252-3.

[q] Comment. 164; Hard. ix. 1442. See above, p. 155.

[r] Comment. 164.

[s] Id.; Rayn. 1459. 70-2; 1460. 20; Gregorov. vii. 179.

[t] Comment. 163; Hard. ix. 1443; Rayn. 1460. 1-6. For letters written to obtain co-operation, see Rayn. ib. 74-6.

to a general council to be punishable with excommunication, and, in the case of a university or of a college, with interdict.[u] Although he tells us that he had consulted the fathers who were at Mantua, and had obtained their unanimous consent,[x] this was nothing less than an assumption that he was entitled to overrule by his own authority the contrary decrees of Constance and Basel.[y]

In the end of January the pope set out homewards, and, after some stay at Bologna and at Florence, and having suffered more severely than before on the frozen mountains,[z] he reached Siena, where he was received with great rejoicings.[a] The congress of Mantua had undeceived him in a great degree as to the prospects of a crusade; for instead of uniting the princes of Europe for the holy cause, it had served chiefly to bring to light their lukewarmness and their discords.[b]

Pius was recalled to Rome by tidings of some disorders which had grown out of the remains of the Porcaro conspiracy and were suppressed with the capital punishment of the leaders.[c] He arrived on the 7th of October, when he was received with a joyful welcome; and he soon after vindicated himself, in a speech of two hours before the popular council, against the charge of preferring the interests of Siena to those of the papal city.[d] September.

With a view of stirring up the Germans for the crusade, and of effecting a reconciliation between the emperor and the king of Hungary,[e] Bessarion was sent into Germany. But he was met by complaints that the imposition of a tenth by the pope's sole authority was

[u] Hard. ix. 1441.
[x] Comment. 166.
[y] Gregorov. vii. 179.
[z] Comment. 173-5.
[a] Ib. 175-6.
[b] Giesel. II. iv. 122.
[c] Comment. 192-5, 197-8, 213-17.
[d] Ib. 219, seqq.; Rayn. 1460. 69-71; Plat. 325; Gregorov. vii. 182-7; see Voigt, iii. 151. In this speech he declared that his family was originally Roman. Comment. 225.
[e] Rayn. 1460. 17-18.

contrary to a decree of the council of Constance;[f] and the cardinal was so much irritated and disgusted by the turbulence of the Germans and by the backwardness of the clergy, that at leaving Vienna he gave his blessing with the left hand instead of the right.[g]

At this time the German church was distracted by a contest for the primacy. Diether, count of Isenburg, had in 1459 been elected to the see of Mentz—not without bribery, according to his enemies,[h] although this is strongly denied. Before confirming the election, Pius wished to bind him by engagements that he would not urge the assembling of a general council, and that he would not convoke the princes of the empire without the consent of the emperor, to whom such meetings were almost as unwelcome as general councils were to popes. Diether, with some difficulty, obtained a dispensation from appearing in person at Mantua;[i] but his representatives at the congress submitted to a demand of 20,500 florins by way of firstfruits on his appointment, and, as they were not provided with the money, they borrowed it of some Roman bankers.[k] On these terms, and on their pledging him to appear at the papal court within a year, the pope's confirmation was granted.[l] But the archbishop, on hearing of the affair, protested against the exaction, as being more than double the amount required of his predecessors, and as a violation of the late concordat, which Pius himself had negotiated; and, as he did not repay the loan, he was excommunicated at the instance of the creditors. This was, indeed, nothing more than a part of the regular process of some inferior court at Rome, to whose juris-

[f] Giesel. II. iv. 125 (from Senckenberg, 'Selecta Juris et Historiarum') Comment. 229; Platina, Panegyr. in Bess. 80-1; L. Chalcocond. 229; Schröckh, xxxii. 256; Voigt, iii. 233.

[g] Comment. 116; Rayn. 1461. 23. The pope professed to have been ignorant of the bribery until later.

[h] Comment. 116. [i] Ib. 260-1.

[k] Ib. 117; Naucler. 1091.

diction the matter of the debt belonged; and the pope disavowed all knowledge of the excommunication, while he justified the increase of the payment on the ground that it was destined for the crusade. But Diether maintained that the curia was in collusion with the money-lenders; and, in defiance of the late bull *Execrabilis*, he appealed to a general council.[m] In consequence of this appeal, a sentence of deposition was issued against him; and count Adolphus of Nassau, a canon of Mentz, was nominated by the pope to the see.[n] The rivals fought, according to the usual German fashion, by their families, their dependants, and their allies, desolating the country which was the scene of their warfare, and utterly disregarding the common interest of the crusade.[o] But at length Diether was brought to give up his pretensions to the archbishoprick, on condition that he should enjoy for life certain towns, castles, and tolls, and that Adolphus should, at his own expense, procure his restoration to the church.[p]

Aug. 21, 1461.

A.D. 1461-2.

Oct. 28, 1463.

About the same time with the question of the German primacy, a violent quarrel as to jurisdiction, the collection of annates, and other subjects, arose between Sigismund of Austria, duke of the Tyrol, and cardinal Nicolas of Cusa, who ten years before had been appointed by pope Nicolas to the bishoprick of Brixen, in preference to a candidate elected by the

A.D. 1460.

[m] Comment. 260; Rayn. 1461. 15, seqq.; Schmidt, iv. 276; Schröckh, xxxii. 259-61; Giesel. II. iv. 133.

[n] Comment. 266-7; Rayn. 1461. 21-5; Giesel. II. iv. 131.

[o] Comment. 269, 404-5; Naucler. 1091-2; Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 373-6; Schmidt, iv. 280.

[p] Comment. 267-8, 604, 635; Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 376-7; Schmidt, iv. 281; Schröckh, xxxii. 274-6. The pope's satisfaction at this arrangement appears from a letter in which he styles Diether "dilectum filium," and overwhelms him with praises. (Giesel. II. iv. 133.) On the death of Adolphus, in 1475, Diether got peaceable possession of the archbishoprick, which he held till his death, in 1482. John of Trittenheim eulogizes him. (Chron. Sponh. A.D. 1482.) Cf. Krantz, Saxonia, 311.

chapter.[q] The duke ventured so far as to imprison the cardinal; whereupon the pope denounced him and his abettors by sentences of anathema and of other penalties, against which Sigismund appealed to a general council.[r] A fierce controversy followed, in which the most conspicuous of Sigismund's partisans was the indefatigable enemy of the Roman court, Gregory Heimburg. Gregory was excommunicated in October 1460,[s] but continued to employ against the papacy all the resources of his learning, acuteness, and unsparing sarcasm.[t] Sigismund was absolved in 1564, through the mediation of the emperor, who is said, in his anxiety for the honour of his family, to have even thrown himself at a legate's feet.[u] But Gregory Heimburg remained under excommunication, and during the following years he was found wherever there was an opposition to the papacy—with Diether at Mentz, with Albert of Austria when he besieged his brother Frederick in Vienna,[x] with king George Podibrad in Bohemia.[y] At length, in 1471, feeling the approach of death, he submitted to the church, and entreated absolution; and thus the sturdy adversary of Rome died in outward peace with the papacy.[z] Aug. 1460.

[q] Comment. 188; Naucler. 1090; Jäger, 'Der Streit des Cardinals N. von Cusa mit Sigmund von Oesterreich,' Innspruck, 1861, vol. i. 27, etc.; Voigt, iii. 305-6. See documents in Goldast. de Monarchia, ii. 1576, seqq.; Freher, ii. 121, seqq.; and Brown's Fasciculus, ii. 114, seqq. Sigismund had been a pupil of Æneas Sylvius, but, according to him, fell away from his early promise. Comment. 165.

[r] Goldast. ii. 1585, 1589-90; Comment. 372; Rayn. 1460. 33-5.

[s] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 408; Rayn. 1460. 34-7. For the pope's account of him in earlier days, see above, p. 124. For Gregory's notes on the sentence, and his appeal against it, Goldast, ii. 1592.

[t] His tract 'De Primatu Papæ' is an exposure of the encroachments of papal on imperial power. He seems, however, to believe in the donation of Constantine (Fascic. ii. 121). Lælius, bishop of Feltre, wrote against him (Goldast. ii. 1595), and Gregory rejoined (ib. 1604). He is very outspoken as to St. Peter's connexion with Rome. 1620.

[u] Jac. Papiens. in Rayn. 1464. 35.

[x] As to this incident, see Comment. 445.

[y] Schröckh, xxxii. 265.

[z] Ib. 266.

The frequent appeals to general councils forced on the pope's notice the inconsistency which was observed between his earlier and his later policy; and, in order to vindicate himself, he put forth, in April 1463, his "Bull of Retractation," addressed to the university of Cologne.[a] In this he admits that he had said, written, and done many things which might be condemned; but he professes a wish, like St. Augustine, to retract the errors of his earlier years, rather than obstinately to adhere to them. He lays down strong principles as to the authority of the papacy, and desires that anything inconsistent with these in his writings may be rejected. "Believe an old man," he says, "rather than a young one, and do not make a private person of more account than a pontiff. Reject Æneas; receive Pius: the former gentile name our parents imposed on us at our birth; the latter Christian name we took with our apostolic office."[b] In order to show that this change of opinions had not been caused by his elevation, he enters into an account of his earlier career. At Basel his inexperience had been misled by the misrepresentations of cardinals and other persons hostile to Eugenius, and by the authority of the Parisian and other academics, to fall in with the general disparagement of the papacy. Thus, when he came to take an independent part in the council, it was in accordance with the spirit which prevailed there; and supposing the defections of Julian Cesarini and others to the council of Ferrara to have been prompted by a fear of losing their preferments, he remained at Basel and took part with the antipope. The emperor's refusal to acknowledge Felix staggered him; he passed into the service of Frede-

[a] It is printed at the beginning of his works; and in Hard. ix. 1449. seqq.

[b] These words he had before used in a letter expressing regret for his 'Eurialus and Lucretia' (see above, p. 120). The manner in which he speaks of his baptismal name is remarkable.

rick, who, like the Germans generally, was neutral in the question of the papacy; and among the neutral party he learnt the falsehood of many of the charges against Eugenius. Still more, he learnt, by frequent conversations with Cesarini, who was then on his Hungarian legation, to see many things in a new light. He goes on to relate the course of his submission to Eugenius, and points out that until then he had been merely a clerk, without having proceeded even to the minor orders. Having thus explained his own career, he proceeds to dwell on the unity of the church, under the pope as its head; and he professes reverence for councils approved by the pope, whose sanction he considers necessary to their validity. Skilful as this apology is, perhaps its effect is rather to bring out than to justify the contrast between the writer's earlier and his later opinions.[c]

With France the relations of Pius were not very cordial. He strongly desired the repeal of the pragmatic sanction of Bourges, which he spoke of to the French ambassadors at Mantua as a spot and a wrinkle deforming the national church, and a token of Antichrist's approach.[d] And his bull *Execrabilis*, in censuring appeals to a general council, implied a condemnation of the pragmatic sanction.[e] But so little were the French convinced by this vehemence, that in the following year the king's procurator-general, John Dauvet, put forth an answer to the pope's speech, and appealed to the judgment of the universal church.[f] The death of Charles VII., July 22, 1461. however, produced a change in this respect. Lewis XI., who had been on bad terms with his father, was inclined, out of hatred to the memory of Charles, to reverse his policy in this and in other matters.[g] It is said

[c] See Giesel. II. iv. 133; Gregorov. vii. 167.

[d] Hard. ix. 1432-3; cf. Comment. 290-2; Basin, i. 319.

[e] Schröckh, xxxii. 280. He strongly denounces it in Ep. 375, p. 847.

[f] Libertez de l'Eglise Gall., Preuves, 289-95.

[g] Hallam, ii. 53.

that he looked on calmly when, at the late king's funeral, the bishop of Terni, as papal legate, insulted the memory of Charles and the reputation of the Gallican church by pronouncing an absolution over him for his concern in the pragmatic sanction;[h] and he was persuaded by John Godefroy, bishop of Arras, a crafty politician, who conveyed to him the pope's blessing on his accession,[i] that, by abolishing the sanction, he would do away with the influence which the great feudatories exercised in ecclesiastical promotion, and might reckon on getting the real patronage into his own hands.[k] In the following year, the king sent Godefroy (for whom he and the duke of Burgundy had procured the dignity of cardinal[l]) to announce at Rome the repeal of the pragmatic sanction.[m] The tidings were received with great rejoicing. All work was suspended for three days; the city was illuminated, bells were rung, the streets were animated by singing and dancing, the sound of trumpets, and the blazing of bonfires; and copies of the obnoxious document were ignominiously dragged through the mud.[n] The pope rewarded Lewis with a gift of a consecrated sword, which bore an inscription in verse, exhorting him to destroy the power of the Turks.[o] But the hopes which the bishop of Arras had deceitfully held out, that the pope would declare for the Angevine interest as to Naples, were utterly disappointed. Pius offered nothing more than to arbitrate between the claimants;[p] and he at once began to exercise his new privileges in the

[h] Basin, ii. 13-14; Voigt, iii. 191. The bishop was afterwards deposed for misconduct as legate in England. Comment. 510-11.

[i] Ib. 300

[k] Schröckh, xxxii. 285; Sism. Hist. Fr. xiv. 91; Martin, vi. 534. See the pope's letter in Hard. ix. 1449 (Nov. 11, 1461).

[l] Dec. 18, 1461. Ciacon. ii. 1052.

[m] See Rayn. 1461. 118; Bul. v. 649-50; Voigt, iii. 191, seqq. Pius speaks of Godefroy as "aperta mendacia pro veris affirmans." Comment. 344.

[n] Ib. 342-4; Rayn. 1462. 8-9; Dach. Spicil. iii. 823. See Bul. iv. 29.

[o] Commenc. 338; Rayn. 1461. 115.

[p] Comment. 380-1, 405; Schröckh, xxxii. 288; Giesel. II. iv. 139; Voigt, iii. 196.

patronage of French dignities.[q] Lewis in his anger was disposed to recall his late concession; and he found it had produced an indignation which he had not expected in the parliaments and in the universities of France, among the nobles and among the citizens, who regarded it as a sacrifice of the national honour. In 1467, under the pontificate of Paul II., when the king's confidant, cardinal Balue, produced before the parliament the royal letter by which the sanction was repealed, John de St. Romain, the king's procurator-general, opposed the registration of it, which was necessary to give it the force of law; and, on being threatened by the cardinal with the royal displeasure, he replied that he would rather lose his office than do anything which might endanger his soul, his sovereign, and his country.[r] The parliament cried out that within three years 3,000,000 of gold crowns had been drawn from France by the papal court. Lewis expelled the pope's collectors, and seized the temporalities of those cardinals who held sees or abbacies in France.[s] Without formally retracting his late act, he proceeded as if the pragmatic sanction were still in force; and this state of things continued throughout the reign.[t]

Notwithstanding the discouragement which Pius had received as to the crusade, he was still bent on that enterprise. After the gradual extinction of the smaller Greek principalities,[u] the work of resisting the Turks was chiefly left to the king of Hungary on the lower Danube, and to the indomitable Scanderbeg in Albania. But frequent communications were brought to Rome, as if

[q] Martin, vi. 545-6.

[r] Preuves des Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. 295-7. As to the independence of the parliament, see Hallam, i. 196.

[s] Martin, vii. 346; Sism. xiv. 98.

[t] Comment. 595; Giesel. II. iv. 141-3. See Bulæus, v. 698, as to Sixtus IV., A.D. 1471; and the account of an assembly at Orleans, 1478, for the purpose of restoring the pragmatic sanction in Jean de Troyes, ed. Petitot, xiv. 78-9.

[u] See Sism. R. I. vii. 282-6; Reumont, III. 143-4; Gregorov. vii. 195.

from eastern princes, who offered to co-operate in vast force, if the Christians of Europe would attack the Turks on the west.[x] And in 1461 a great sensation was produced at Rome by the arrival of Thomas Palæologus, brother of the last Byzantine emperor, and formerly lord of the Morea, who had been driven from Greece, and brought with him from Patras, the traditional place of St. Andrew's martyrdom, a head which was said to be that of the apostle.[y] The pope had eagerly entered into treaty for this venerable relic, and succeeded in obtaining it against the competition of many princes.[z] It was brought with much ceremony from Ancona, where Palæologus had left it,[a] was met at Narni by Bessarion and two other cardinals, and on its arrival at Rome was received with extraordinary reverence.[b] Invitations had been sent to the cities of Italy, with a promise of the same indulgence as at a jubilee for those who should be present; and the crowd was as great as at the jubilee under Nicolas V.[c] The head was carried to St. Peter's in procession, attended by 30,000 torches, while the palaces and other houses along the way were hung with tapestry, and numerous altars adorned the streets.[d] The hours occupied by the procession from the Flaminian gate were the only interval of fair weather in a whole month, and the solemnity of the holy week, which had just begun, combined with the other influences of the scene.[e] The Vatican basilica was splendidly illuminated; the pope addressed the holy relic in an eloquent and affecting speech, while

[x] Gregorov. vii. 198. The professed envoys were maintained at the public expense, and some are said to have eaten at the rate of 20 pounds of meat a day (Comment. 231-2). They visited various western countries, but with little effect (233). One adventurer got himself consecrated as a patriarch, at Venice, by bishops whom he had imposed on. Ib.

[y] Comment. 236, 352; Rayn. 1461. 43. The body of St. Andrew was supposed to be at Amalfi. Comment 352.

[z] Ib. 353.

[a] Ib. 236, 354.

[b] A small chapel stands on the spot where the head was received, near the Ponte Molle.

[c] Comment. 354-5, 361.

[d] Ib. 355, 365.

[e] Ib. 356, 372.

the vast multitude showed their sympathy by weeping, sobbing, and beating their breasts;[f] and, after other ceremonies, to which the strains of music from instruments and voices added effect, the head of St. Andrew was deposited beside that of St. Peter.[g]

Soon after the loss of Sinope and of Trebizond had been reported in the west, Pius ventured on the extraordinary measure of addressing a letter to Mahomet, for the purpose of urging him to embrace the Christian faith.[h] He begins by warning the sultan not to trust in his fortune, but to seek for power and fame rather through being baptized; and in this part of the letter he partly appeals to motives of temporal interest. He then goes on to statements of Christian doctrine, with many reflections on the errors of Mahometanism, and on the laxity of its morality. He argues against the assertion that the Scriptures had been corrupted, ridicules the legends of the Koran, and celebrates the great writers of the Christian church; and he concludes by again exhorting Mahomet to enter into the church by baptism. Although this letter displays much learning and ingenuity, it is difficult to conceive how a man so shrewd and so experienced as the writer could have expected it to produce conviction in the mind of the Turkish prince, even if (as was most unlikely) he were ever to listen to the reading of it.[i]

A.D. 1461.

[f] Comment. 357-8.

[g] Ib. 367, seqq.; Infessura, in Eccard, ii. 1892; Gregorov. vii. 198-201; Reumont, iii. 148. The head of St. Andrew was carried off during the Roman revolution of 1848, and a statue of the apostle now marks the spot where it was again found, near the gate of St. Pancras. See Reumont, III. i. 148. Thomas Palæologus died in the hospital of Santo Spirito, May 12, 1465 (Jac. Volater, v. 157; Gregorov. vii. 199). Some of his descendants appear in England at a later time; and "it is said that a member of the family is still living." Stanley's 'Westminster Abbey,' ed. 3, p. 359.

[h] Ep. 396; Opera, 872-94; or Rayn. 1461. 44-112.

[i] See Bayle, art. *Mahomet II.*, n. Q; Schröckh, xxxii. 291-5; Hallam, M.A., i. 498; Giesel. II. iv. 142; Milman, vi. 179 (who is far more favourable than Hallam); Voigt, iii. 658-9.

A discovery of alum mines near La Tolfa, in 1462, added considerably to the papal revenue, and at the same time deprived the Turks of the money which the western nations had been accustomed to pay for the alum of Asia Minor; and Pius did not hesitate to give the name of miracle to an event which thus doubly tended to advance his hopes of a crusade.[k]

Pius invited all princes to send representatives to a congress at Rome,[l] and he addressed the cardinals in an eloquent and pathetic speech, proposing a crusade, with a truce for five years among Christians. He declared his intention of joining the expedition, not for the purpose of fighting, but that, while God's people fought, he might, like Moses, from a hill or from the elevated deck of a ship, pray for them and pour curses on the enemy.[m] Of the cardinals, to whom he spoke in a second address,[n] all but those of Spoleto and Arras were in favour of a crusade.[o] But when he issued a bull for the purpose,[p] no Christian states, except Venice and Hungary, were found to respond. In Germany the cry was rather for a reform of the church than for a war against the infidels. In England, when the pope asked the clergy to give a tenth for the crusade, a sixtieth was proposed by some, and only a fortieth was voted.[q] Lewis of France, irritated by his disappointment as to Naples and by the consequences of his concession as to the pragmatic sanction, not only held aloof, but urged duke Philip of Burgundy to leave unfulfilled his vow to the pheasant.[r] A few of

[k] Comment. 339-41; Annal. Foroliv. in Murat. xxii. 226; Gaspar Veronensis (who had much to do with these mines, especially under Paul II.), ib. III. ii. 1043, 1047; Reumont, III. i. 281 and n.; Gregorov. vii. 202.

[l] Platina, 321.

[m] Comment. 347, seqq.; Rayn. 1462, 33.

[n] Comment. 618-24

[o] Schröckh, xxxii. 294; Sism. vii. 307.

[p] Ep. 398 (misnumbered 412); also in Wilkins, iii. 587.

[q] Ib. 594-8.

[r] J. du Clercq, in Monstrel. xiv. 337; Platina, 326. For letters to the duke of Burgundy, see Æn. Sylv. Epp. 376-82; Rayn. 1464. 4-9. Pius, in his bul, had spoken of him as certain

the Italian powers, however, agreed to pay the same amounts which had formerly been promised at Mantua.[s]

On the 19th of June 1464, the pope, although suffering from gout and fever,[t] set out for Ancona, where he expected to find the Venetian fleet.[u] Turning round to look on his city from the Quintian meadows, he burst out into the words "Farewell, Rome! thou wilt never again see me alive!"[x] On account of his weak condition, he took advantage of the Tiber as far as possible, proceeding up the stream from the Ponte Molle, and after a slow land-journey by way of Loreto, he reached Ancona on the 18th of July.[y] In the course of this journey he repeatedly fell in with parties of volunteers who had flocked into Italy for the crusade; but they were in general utterly unfit for the work—unarmed, undisciplined, without any leaders, many of them worn out and impotent, beggarly, ragged, and hungry. The pope, distressed and disgusted by the sight of such allies, gave them his blessing, and desired them to return to their homes;[z] whereupon the better of them sold such things

to join the crusade, and as an example for others (pp. 917-19). The duke, being unable to fulfil his vow at the time, asked for a year's delay, and in the meanwhile sent two illegitimate sons. These, after having delivered Ceuta from the Saracens, proceeded to Italy, with the intention of joining the pope; but finding him already dead, returned to Marseilles, having suffered great losses from sickness. (J. du Clercq, 336-41, 380-1; Chastellain, in Buchon, xlii. 48-52, 54, seqq., 69-71; Oliv. de la Marche, in Petitot, x. 253-5.) Philip had recruited his finances well before his death in 1465. Sism. H. des Franç. xiv. 221.

[s] Comment. 630; Rayn. 1462.

[t] For a formidable account of his ailments eleven years earlier, see Ep. 146. But his activity was never intermitted on this account. Plat. 326.

[u] See his letter to the doge of Venice, Rayn. 1463. 41.

[x] Campanus, in Murat. III. ii. 988.

[y] Ib. 989-90; Jac. Papiens. in Rayn. 1464. 36-7; Gregorov. vii. 207.

[z] Platina, 326; Naucler. 1094; Krantz, Saxonia, 311; Simoneta, in Murat. xx. 763. It is said that the number of those who set out for the crusade in this fashion was not less than 300,000. (J. du Clercq, in Monstrel. xiv. 341-2; cf. Chastellain, in Buchon, xlii. 51.) Krantz gives a curious account of the fanaticism and imposture with which the crusade was got up in Germany: "Sacrilegium ducebant, si quis verbo interposito conaretur quenquam avertere minus expeditioni profuturum." Wandalia, 203.

as they had, and obeyed his charge, while others, after having vainly waited for the beginning of the expedition, betook themselves to robbery for support.[a]

At Ancona Pius found that the expected naval allies had not yet arrived; and in the meanwhile his illness was growing on him. On the 12th of August he had the gratification of seeing, from the bishop's palace, where he was lodged, the entry of twenty-four Venetian galleys into the harbour, under the command of the doge, Christopher Moro; but he was too weak to receive the doge, as he had intended, on the following day. On the 14th he called to his bedside the cardinals who had accompanied him, and recommended to their care the prosecution of the war, the ecclesiastical state, and his own nephews. He asked for the last sacraments, and had a discussion with the bishop of Ferrara on the question whether he should receive extreme unction, as he had already received it when dangerously sick at Basel. He repeated the Athanasian creed, which he declared to be "most true and holy." Bessarion endeavoured to comfort him by the assurance that he had governed well; and on the following day the pope expired.[b] However we may judge of the versatile character and of the strangely varied career of this remarkable man, the circumstances of his last days entitle him to respect, as having sacrificed his life for Christendom, even if it may be supposed that other motives mingled with those of religion.[c]

[a] Schröckh, xxxii. 300; Reumont, III. i. 151.

[b] Jac. Papiens. ap. Rayn. 1464. 41: Campanus, 990; Malipieri, 29; Plat. 326-7. J. du Clercq (in Monstrel. xiv. 352) says that at the hour of his death the vines, trees, etc., around Rome were blasted by lightning: "et mourut icellui pape, comme on disoit, de mort diverse, et en grand dangier pour son ame, et en parloit-on de mauvaise manière," on account of the corruptions practised in the church.

[c] Some of his books have been condemned by his successors since 1559, either absolutely or "donec corrigantur." In the index of forbidden books, we still read as to his commentaries on the council of Basel, "Corrigantur ea quæ ipse in Bulla Retractationis damnavit." Migne, Dict. des Hérésies, ii. 1148.

The crusade ended with the death of the pope who had projected it. Of the money which he had collected for the expedition, a part was given to the Venetians and a part to the king of Hungary; and these powers continued to carry on war against the Turks by sea and by land.[d]

The cardinals returned to Rome for the purpose of electing a pope; and on the 31st of August, at the first scrutiny, it was found that their choice had fallen on Peter Barbo, a Venetian, whose family pretended to descent from the old Roman Ahenobarbi.[e] The new pope, who was forty-six years of age, took the name of Paul II.; he was a nephew of Eugenius IV., on whose elevation he had exchanged a mercantile life for the profession of an ecclesiastic.[f] He had been created cardinal of St. Mark at the age of twenty-two by his uncle, and while holding that dignity had rebuilt the church from which he took his title, and had begun the vast Venetian palace, for which the materials were chiefly derived from the plunder of the Colosseum.[g] After the death of Eugenius, he was able to secure the favour of Nicolas and Calixtus; and he obtained from Pius a pension charged on the Cluniac priory of Paisley,[h] although this pope was in the habit of speaking of him as *Maria pientissima* on account of his affectedly soft and tender manner, which he carried so far as to make use of tears for any purpose which could not otherwise be gained.[i] So vain was Barbo of his handsome person, that, if we may believe Platina, he wished as pope to take the name of Formosus, and was with difficulty dissuaded by the

[d] Plat. 327; Sismondi, vii. 313; Daru, ii. 456-7; Palacky, IV. ii. 324.

[e] Cannesius, in Murat. III. iii. 993.

[f] It is said that he was about to sail for the Levant, in order to settle there, and had already shipped his luggage, when the news of the election changed his plans. Plat. 331.

[g] Ib. 343; Gaspar. Veron. in Murat. III. ii. 1041; Gregorov. vii. 21, 637-8; Reumont, III. i. 396-8.

[h] Theiner, 418.

[i] Plat. 332.

cardinals.[k] His love of display and show led him to spend large sums on jewels, precious stones, and other ornaments;[l] and in order to provide the means of this expenditure, he was accustomed to keep in his own hands the income of vacant bishopricks and other offices, instead of filling them up.[m] He was fond of exhibiting himself in splendid attire at great religious functions, and on some occasions endeavoured to heighten the effect of his appearance by painting his face.[n] Among his other peculiarities, it is mentioned that he was accustomed to transact all business by night.[o] It is from Paul's institution, rather than from any unbroken traditions of paganism, that the festivities of the Roman carnival derive their character; and he used to look on from the Venetian palace at the races run by old men and young men, by Jews, horses, asses, and buffaloes, along the Via Lata, which from these sports acquired the new name of Corso.[p]

In other respects there is a conflict of testimony as to his character; for while Platina (who had special reasons for disliking him)[q] represents him as heartless, cruel, and difficult of approach,[r] other writers dilate on his tenderness, his universal benevolence, and his bountiful charity.[s] Among the objects of this bounty were even the poorer cardinals and bishops, as Platina himself tells us; and he agrees with the eulogists of Paul in describing him as merciful to those who offended against the law.[t]

[k] Gregorov. vii. 213.

[l] Plat. 341; Cannes. in Murat. III. ii. 1009-10; Gasp. Veron. ib. 1044. These afterwards went to pay the debts of the popes from Eugenius IV. downwards. Vita Sixti IV. in Mur. III. ii. 1057.

[m] Cron. di Bologna, Mur. xviii. 788.

[n] Plat. 341. [o] Ib. 333.

[p] Ib. 337; Infessura, 1893; Cannes. 1012; Gregorov vii. 218, 639. James of Volterra says that in 1494, "*Bacchanalium* die qui Carnisprivium nuncupatur," the history of Constantine was acted before Pope Sixtus in a court of the Vatican. Murat. xxiii. 185.

[q] See below, p. 190. [r] Plat. 343.

[s] Ib. 342: Cannes. 993, 1017, 1019; Gasp. Veron. 1028, 1040, 1044, 1048. Rinaldi quotes Giles of Viterbo, Filelfo etc., in his commendation. 1471. 635

[t] Plat. 343. Cf. Raph. Volaterr. 817.

Before proceeding to an election, the cardinals had been exhorted in a discourse by the bishop of Torcello, who represented the danger that all authority might pass from the college to the pope, so as to be exercised at his mere will, and advised them to choose such a pope as might remedy this evil.[u] They had bound themselves by capitulations, slightly altered from those which had been framed at the last papal election. The future pope was to carry on the crusade which had been begun against the Turks; to call a general council within three years; to observe certain rules as to the nomination of cardinals; to appoint no more than one cardinal from among his own kindred, and to refrain from bestowing certain important offices on these; and there were special provisions for securing to the cardinals a real influence as counsellors of the pope in the administration of his office. His promises were to be read over to him in the consistory every month, and twice a year the cardinals were to inquire as to his performance of them, and, in case of his failure, were to admonish him with filial deference.[x]

Yet Paul, although he had not only agreed to these stipulations, but had again sworn to them after his election, threw off their obligation. He declared that such engagements were unlawful; and, chiefly by wheedling, partly by other means, he induced the cardinals to subscribe, instead of the capitulations, an altered form, which he then locked up, so that it was never seen again. Bessarion was forcibly compelled to sign; the aged Carvajal alone persisted in refusing.[y]

Paul showed little of his predecessor's zeal for the holy war, although the Turks were pressing onwards in their career of conquest, so that Italy itself seemed to be in

[u] Gregorov. vii. 212.

[x] Jac. Piccinin. in Raynal. 1464. 15.

[y] Schröckh, xxxii. 339; Gregorov. vii. 214-15; see Bayle, art. *Paul II.*, n. E. It is said that by way of consolation Paul bestowed on the cardinals red hats, purple cloaks, and red horse-trappings. Plat. 341; Greg. l. c.

danger.[z] He gave, however, the produce of the alum mines for the crusade, as he had engaged to do by the capitulations.[a] He spent large sums, with but little effect, in subsidising the king of Hungary, Scanderbeg, and other opponents of the Turks;[b] and he endeavoured to seek for alliances and money in Germany, where his representatives found both princes and people generally indifferent to the cause.[c]

In the end of 1468, the emperor suddenly revisited Rome, with a small train of attendants. The professed object of his journey was to fulfil a vow of pilgrimage which he had made on his deliverance, by George Podibrad, from being besieged in his palace at Vienna, and to concert an expedition against the Turks; but it has been suspected that its real motive was different,—that he perhaps even intended to contrive the ruin of the neighbour to whom he had been so greatly indebted.[d] He arrived on Christmas eve, was conducted by torch-light from the Flaminian gate to the Vatican, and, on the morning of the great festival, edified the congregation assembled in St. Peter's by the skill with which he chanted the gospel of the decree which went out from Cæsar Augustus.[e] The emperor communicated with the

[z] Sism. vii. 397, 405.

[a] Schröckh, xxxii. 311. This was continued by his successor, who wrote to the duke of Burgundy, asking that alum might be allowed to pass free through his territories, as the profits were intended for the crusade. Mart. Coll. Ampl. ii. 1520.

[b] Rayn. 1465. 18-19; 1466. 3; Gasp. Veron. 1047; Schröckh, xxxii. 313. Scanderbeg died in 1466. Rayn. 1466. 7.

[c] *E. g.*, Rayn. 1471. 4, seqq.; Schmidt, iv. 294-6, 299-300. Bessarion also wrote to stir up the Italian princes. Rayn. 1470. 20-35.

[d] See cardinal James of Pavia, in Freher, ii. 140, seqq.; Augustin. Patricius, in Murat. xxiii. 203, seqq.; Palacky, IV. ii. 554; Gregorov. vii. 227.

[e] Aug. Patric. 210. "Non injucunde cantavit." (Jac. Papiens. 141.) In proof of the decay of the imperial dignity, it is noted that the cardinal supposes the pope to have condescended in treating Frederick as an equal. "Numquam cum processerunt passus est nisi ex æquo esse." (143.) In like manner Aug. Patrizi, who was master of the ceremonies, speaks of the decline of the emperor, and of the pope's rise in dignity, so that, contrary to the usage of earlier times, "parvu-

pope; but, whereas it was usual for persons admitted to that honour to receive in both kinds, the chalice was on this occasion received by the pope alone, lest encouragement should be given to the Hussite belief of its necessity.[f] The visit lasted seventeen days, during which Frederick visited the remains of antiquity, and Paul had the gratification of entertaining the emperor by a display of his precious jewels.[g] But even as to etiquette there were some differences; and when Frederick proposed a congress like that of Mantua, the pope replied that such meetings produced discord rather than union. Whether for avowed or for secret reasons, the two were mutually dissatisfied, and Frederick returned to Germany in displeasure.[h]

Paul professed himself desirous of reforming the curia; but, notwithstanding these professions, offices as well as benefices continued to be offered for sale.[i] In one instance, however, he made an attempt at reform, which, by provoking the enmity of the biographer Platina, has seriously affected his reputation with posterity. The college of abbreviators, which took its origin from the days of the Avignon papacy, had been reconstituted by Pius II., who fixed its number at seventy. These for the most part had bought their offices, with the assurance that they were permanent, and among them were many men of the literary class, including the biographer of the popes.[k] When, therefore, Paul charged the abbreviators with simony and other corruption, and proceeded to dissolve the college,[l] he raised against himself a host of peculiarly dangerous enemies; and the narrative of Platina, who had suffered especial hardship and persecution, has left imputations on the pope's character and

lum quodque humanitatis officium pro maximo reputandum est." 215-16.

[f] Ib. 212. [g] Ib.; Infess. 1894.

[h] Schrockh, xxxii. 317-18; Palacky, IV. ii. 555-6; Gregorov. vii. 228.

[i] Plat. 342; Naucler. 1698.

[k] Plat. 332-3.

[l] Ægid. Viterb. ap. Rayn. 1466. 21.

conduct which, although we may not fully trust the writer,[m] are not met by any evidence on the more favourable side.[n] In the course of this affair, the pope attempted to connect Platina with a party which he accused of paganism. The members of this party had formed themselves into an academy, of which Pomponius Leti, an illegitimate offspring of the counts of San Severino, was president.[o] They are said to have disdained their baptismal names, and to have taken up instead of them fantastical substitutes, such as Callimachus and Asclepiades;[p] but while at Florence the revival of classical learning was animated by a passion for the literature

[m] See Rayn. 1471. 62, with Mansi's note; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 246.

[n] Bartholomew Sacchi, who is usually known by the Latin name of his birthplace, Piadena, in the Cremonese, was born in 1421. He was appointed an abbreviator by Pius II., but was deprived of his office by Paul, who also imprisoned him in chains, in a lofty tower, without fire, and exposed to the blasts of winter. (Plat. 333.) He was afterwards charged with a share in a conspiracy of one Callimachus, and, with about twenty others, was tortured, but could not be brought to any confession. (338-9.) The pope then accused them of heresy—of questioning the immortality of the soul, and denying the existence of God—charges which Platina explains by saying that such questions were argued in the schools of disputation, with a view to finding out the truth. (340.) After he had been acquitted, the pope for two years promised him promotion, but died without having done anything for him. (341.) There is a speech of his addressed to Paul, "De pace Italiæ componenda, atque de bello Turcis indicendo." (Append. ad Vitas Paparum, 34-8.) By Sixtus IV. he was made librarian of the Vatican, and was induced to undertake his 'Lives of the Popes.' He died in 1481. (Rayn. 1478. 48-9; Tirab. vi. i. 276; Gregorov. vii. 596.) James of Volterra gives an account of a festival on his anniversary in 1482, when Pomponius Leti, "princeps sodalitatis litterariæ, vir doctissimus," delivered a eulogium from the pulpit, and was followed by one Astræus, who recited some verses which, although elegant, were "a nostra Catholica professione alieni, et loco illo sacratissimo valde indigni." The writer was shocked at such an invasion of the pulpit by a layman. A banquet was given by Demetrius of Lucca, an old pupil of Platina; verses were recited in vast profusion, and they were collected into a volume. (Murat. xxiii. 171.) Philip Buonaccorsi, who called himself Callimachus Experiens, afterwards rose to eminence in Poland, and wrote the account of Cesarini's crusade quoted at p. 110. Tirab. vi. ii. 108-10.

[o] See Tirab. vi. ii. 11-15; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 161; Gregorov. vii. 575; Roscoe's 'Leo,' i. 336, 438; Burckhardt, 219.

[p] Plat. 340; Murat. Ann. IX. i. 160; Gregorov. vii. 218; Reumont, III. i. 342-3; Burckhardt, 194. Many of their names have been found written in the catacombs, and De Rossi infers their paganism. Roma Sotterr. Cristiana, i. 3-8.

of Greece, the spirit of this party was so exclusively Roman that Leti refused even to become acquainted with the Greek language.[q] To Paul such an association was naturally obnoxious, although we need not trace this dislike, with Platina, to his own want of literary culture alone,[r] but may refer it with more probability to a dread of heathen and republican tendencies.[s] He therefore proceeded against them with much rigour; some of them were severely tortured in his own presence, and were banished; one even died in consequence of the torture.[t]

Among the events of this pontificate may be mentioned the introduction of the new art of printing into Rome[u] by Ulric Hahn, a German, and by his more famous countrymen Schweynheim and Pannartz, who had before practised it in the monastery of Subiâco.[x]

Paul was found dead in his bed on the 26th of July 1471. His death is attributed by Platina to indigestion;[y] but, as he had not received the last sacraments, it was popularly believed that he had been killed by a devil, whom he was supposed to carry in his signet-ring.[z] Although he had advanced three of his relations to the cardinalate, it is recorded to his credit that he did not give himself over to the influence of any favourite, but

[q] Gregorov. vii. 577.

[r] Plat. 343. This charge is considered by Von Reumont to be much exaggerated. III. i. 345.

[s] Gregorov. vii. 377.

[t] Sism. vii. 387; Gregorov. vii. 579.

[u] Gaspar. Veron. 1046. Schröckh says that Paul's patronage of the art has been exaggerated. (xxxii. 337.) There is a remarkable passage in honour of the new invention in Naucerus. P. 1071.

[x] Tirab. vi. i. 140-2. The earliest date of the Subiaco books (which do not mention the names of the printers) appears to be 1465; of those printed at Rome, 1467. (Dibdin, Bibliotheca Spenceriana, i. 204-10; Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 220; Gregorov. vii. 524-6.) Hahn was successful in business; but the others were obliged, in 1472, to petition Sixtus IV. on account of poverty brought on by the want of sale for their books. Hallam, i. 341; Gregorov. 528.

[y] "Nam duos lepores, et quidem prægrandes, comederat." (343.) Cf. Fr. Philelf. ap. Rayn. 1471. 65; R. Volaterr. 818.

[z] Gregorov. vii. 230. Cardinal J. Piccolomini thinks it a judgment for his breach of promise as to a general council, but Rinaldi considers this supposition needless. 1471. 62.

kept his family and servants in due subordination ;[a] and his pontificate, however little we may find in it to respect, came afterwards to be regarded as an era of purity and virtue in comparison with the deep degradation which followed.[b]

We may now revert to the religious history of Bohemia.

In 1444, on the death of Ptaczek,[c] George Boczek, of Podibrad, was chosen by the Calixtines to act as regent during the minority of Ladislaus, in conjunction with Meinhard of Neuhaus. But the co-regents disagreed, as Meinhard became more decidedly favourable to the Roman usage in the administration of the eucharist; and he died not long after the capital had been wrested from him by Podibrad in September 1448.[d] In April 1451, Podibrad was chosen sole regent,[e] and he honestly attempted to deal fairly with all parties. On gaining possession of Prague he had brought back Rokyczana, who exercised almost all the rights of an archbishop, and bore hardly on the Roman party.[f] Negotiations were carried on with Rome—the utraquists asking that Rokyczana might be consecrated, and that the *compactata* might be extended in their favour, while the Roman party required full restoration of ecclesiastical and monastic property, and wished the liberty of receiving the chalice to be withdrawn.[g] The *compactata* laboured under the difficulty

[a] "Quod domi monstra non aluerit." Plat. 343 ; Gregorov. vii. 218.

[b] Ib. 230.

[c] See p. 117.

[d] Cochl. 358 ; Schröckh, xxxiv. 722 ; Palacky, IV. i. 108, 190, 197.

[e] Ib. 202, 289.

[f] Schröckh, xxxiv. 722 ; Lenf. Conc. de Basle, ii. 139. It is said that when a pestilence raged at Prague, in 1451, the sick could not obtain the eucharist except in both kinds, and that those who refused the cup were excluded from Christian burial. (Cochl. 363 ; cf. 426.) Piccolomini speaks strongly against Rokyczana, in a letter to pope Nicolas, from Neustadt, Nov. 25, 1448. Archiv für österr. Geschichtsq. xvi. 391.

[g] Giesel. II. iv. 449 ; Palacky, IV. i. 124-30, 164, seqq., 186-7, 260.

that the Bohemians had concluded them with the council of Basel alone, at a time when it was in hostility to pope Eugenius; and that, when terms were afterwards made between the council and Nicolas V., the *compactata* had not been included.[h] Hence the curia now astonished the Bohemians by treating the agreement as if it did not exist; and cardinal Carvajal, on a mission in 1448, provoked them so much in this and in other respects, that his departure from Prague became the signal for a popular outbreak, in which he was assailed with curses and with stones.[i]

In 1451 Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, then bishop of Siena and secretary to the emperor, was sent by Frederick to explain to the Bohemians his reasons for retaining the guardianship of their young king.[k] He had interviews with Podibrad, who set forth the national grievances; to which the envoy replied by complaining that the utraquists did not observe their part of the Basel agreement.[l] And when the regent dwelt on the pope's refusal to consecrate an archbishop, Piccolomini answered that the Bohemians did wrong in insisting that Rokyczana should be the man.[m]

But the most remarkable part of this narrative is the account of his visits to Tabor. He found the people rude, although they wished to appear civilized. They were roughly hospitable; their clothing was scanty; their houses, built of wood or clay, were arranged like the tents

[h] Palacky, IV. i. 257.

[i] Lenf. ii. 133-6; Palacky, IV. i. 190.

[k] See p. 148. Piccolomini had written, in 1444, to a friend at Neustadt, begging him to buy a Bible for him, as there were many "presbyterculi" in Bohemia who had books to sell; and, being now in years, the writer intended to turn from secular literature, "ad Evangelii profunda." Archiv für österreich, Gesch. xvi. 358.

[l] This was a constant complaint of the Roman party, *e. g.*, Cusanus, in Cochl. 395-6.

[m] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 130; Palacky, IV. i. 269. After reporting a long discussion on the question of the chalice, Æneas Sylvius says of Podibrad, "Magis deceptum quam pertinacem invenimus." Hist. Frid. 181.

out of which the town had grown, and within them was displayed a profusion of spoil brought home from marauding expeditions. As such resources were no longer available, the Taborites had betaken themselves to commerce; the principle of a community of goods, which had formerly been established, was now abandoned. On attempting to convert his host, Piccolomini found him a very questionable Taborite, who kept images for his secret worship.

In his return, the envoy again visited the place, but would neither eat nor drink there, and held a discussion with Nicolas Biscupek and others on the eucharistic usage and other points of difference. Their opinions he found to be far worse than he had expected; and he concludes his account by saying that among barbarians, anthropophagi, and the monstrous natives of India and Libya, there were none more monstrous than the Taborites.[n] In the following year Rokyczana was able, by the aid of the regent Podibrad, to reduce the Taborites to conformity. Nicolas and another leader were imprisoned in fortresses until they should acknowledge Rokyczana, and ended their days in confinement; and in the month of December 1452 mass was for the first time celebrated at Tabor with the vestments and rites of the Calixtines.[o]

In 1451 John of Capistrano, the eloquent Franciscan who afterwards animated the defenders of Belgrade,[p] was sent by Nicolas V. into Bohemia and the neighbouring countries for the purpose of opposing Hussitism, with authority to absolve all who should submit to the church.[q]

[n] Ep. 130.

[o] Palacky, IV. i. 306-9. Peter Payne, who, as a pure Wyclifite, did not entirely agree with any Bohemian section, is mentioned for the last time as one of six arbitrators between Rokyczana and the extreme opposite party. Ib. 453-4.

[p] See p. 158.

[q] Cochl. 365-7; Giesel. II. iv. 450; Palacky, IV. i. 203. L. Chalcocondylas says that he was sent to the people of Prague, *ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τεθραμμένους θρησκείαν*; and elsewhere

His preaching is said to have been enforced by miracles,[r] and its effects are described as prodigious. At Breslau, the people were at once subdued into repentance for their sins, and excited to enthusiastic fury against the Bohemian heretics; and they brought together playing-cards, dice, chess-boards, and other instruments of gaming or of vanity, for a great bonfire in the market-place.[s] At Olmütz, he tells us that he had 100,000 hearers at once; and he made upwards of 3000 converts, partly by the confident assurance that all who had received the eucharist in both kinds were lost.[t] But his excess of zeal led him into extravagances, which were blamed even by his associate Nicolas of Cusa;[u] and as the regent threw obstacles in the way of his entering Bohemia, the challenges which passed between the friar and Rokyczana did not result in the disputation which both professed to desire.[x] Although the Greeks, at the time of the council of Basel, had greatly resented an incautious phrase which classed them with the Hussites,[y] the increasing distress of the empire had reduced them to seek for aid in any quarter from which it might possibly be hoped for; and thus, in 1452, the highest personages of the Byzantine church made overtures to the Bohemians, in which they expressed themselves as willing to tolerate any rites which might be found edifying and at the same time not contrary to the laws of the church.

Jan. 18, 1452.

he describes the Bohemians as worshippers of fire! 222, 225.

[r] See Palacky, IV. i. 203.

[s] Ib. 360.

[t] Cochl. 377; Palacky, IV. i. 284. In the letter given by Cochlæus, John complains of the circulation of a forged letter, by which he was made to claim the spirit of prophecy. (376.) The vanity which Piccolomini notes in him (see above, p. 159) appears very strongly here. 376-7.

[u] Palacky, IV. i. 287.

[x] See Acta SS., Oct. 23, p. 335; Cochl. 370-3; Wadding, xii. 91, seqq.; Lenf. ii. 205-9; Palacky, IV. i. 360. Rokyczana called Capistrano "profugum, seductorem, sortilegum, anti-Christum"; and he in his turn apostrophizes Rokyczana—"O bellua et lingua viperea!" etc. (Cochl. 377; Schröckh, xxxiv. 726-7). Podibrad tells him that he had written like a buffoon (*histrio*). Cochl. l. c.

[y] See p. 91.

But this negotiation was ended by the fall of Constantinople in the spring of the following year.[z]

The emperor had at length been compelled to give up Ladislaus to his Bohemian subjects; and, as the king was only thirteen years old, Podibrad became his tutor, and continued to act as regent. Ladislaus, under the instructions of Piccolomini, had been strongly prepossessed against the utraquists: "If the Bohemians wish to have me for their king," he said, "they must be Christians, and confess the same faith with me."[a] But by the regent's prudent management, he was brought to confirm all that had been promised by his predecessors Sigismund and Albert, including the maintenance of the *compactata*, and an engagement to take measures for the confirmation and consecration of Rokyczana as archbishop. Thus Podibrad succeeded in preserving peace between Ladislaus and his subjects;[b] but a renewed application to Rome in favour of Rokyczana was ineffectual.[c]

A.D. 1452.

May 1, 1453.

Ladislaus died after a short illness in December 1457.[d] There were several candidates for the vacant throne; but

[z] Flac. Illyric., Catalog. Testium Veritatis, 1834-6; Lenf. ii. 164-5; Palacky, IV. i. 261, 298. There was no patriarch at the time, but George Scholaris, afterwards patriarch, was among the subscribers of the Greek letter.

[a] Æn. Sylv. de Germania, p. 1057; Hist. Boh. 62, 69; Ep. 162, p. 714; Cochl. 393; Palacky, IV. i. 318; cf. Naucler. 1079.

[b] Palacky, IV. i. 317.

[c] Ib. 338, 410. There is a letter from Calixtus III. to the regent, desiring that Rokyczana might be sent to Rome, as his fame had made the pope desirous to see him. Rayn. 1456. 69.

[d] Piccolomini says that the German physicians, after having left Bohemia, stated openly that the young king was poisoned, and that those who believe this suppose Podibrad and Rokyczana the authors of the crime; but that for himself he will not decide, although Podibrad's elevation to the throne "necati regis suspicionem maxime auget." (Hist. Boh. 70; cf. Comment. 602; Hist. Frid. 473-4.) Comines says that Ladislaus was poisoned by a paramour of good family (whose brother the historian had seen), out of jealousy, on account of his engagement to marry a daughter of Charles VII. of France (Mém. in Petitot, xii. 415). But the death was really caused by a plague which had been raging in Hungary, and of which the symptoms could not be produced by poison. Palacky, IV. i. 422-4. See Chalcocond. 226; Cochl. 405-6; Oswald, 36-7.

the election fell on the regent Podibrad, as being the fittest to enjoy in his own name the power which he had successfully administered in the name of the late sovereign. For this he was partly indebted to the support of Rokyczana, who eloquently advocated the expediency of choosing a native Bohemian; "rather than elect a foreigner for king," he said, "Bohemia ought to become a republic, like Israel in the time of the judges."[e] The coronation was performed by two Hungarian bishops, as no Bohemian prelate could be found to officiate;[f] and the new king bound himself by an oath, as to the interpretation of which there was afterwards much question, that he would be obedient to the Roman church, to pope Calixtus and his successors; that he would hold to the unity of the orthodox faith, and would protect it with all his might; that he would labour to recall his people from "all errors, sects, and heresies, and from other articles contrary to the holy Roman church and the catholic faith, and to bring them to obedience, conformity, and union, and to the rite[g] and worship of the holy Roman church."[h]

March 2, 1458.

May 7.

To this time is referred the origin of a community which has lasted to our own day, and has been greatly distinguished in missionary and other religious labours—the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravian brethren.[i] The peculiar ideas out of which it grew are traced to Peter of Chel-

[e] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 72; Cochl. 409-10; Palacky, IV. ii. 17, 27.

[f] Rayn. 1458. 22; Palacky, IV. ii. 33-4, 40. The coronation was delayed an hour for astrological reasons. Ib. 42.

[g] The words *et ritum* are wanting in the German copy, and may perhaps have been inserted afterwards. Giesel. II. iv. 451.

[h] Rayn. 1458. 24. This oath, taken before certain witnesses, was distinct from the public coronation oath, in which George swore to maintain all rights and privileges of the kingdom, among which the *compactata* were included (Palacky, IV. ii. 41). But Rokyczana is said to have reproached him at the time, and to have preached against him for giving up the chalice. Schröckh, xxxiv. 731-2.

[i] Their first appearance at Prague was about 1450. Giesel. II. iv. 460.

cick, a layman, who was born about 1390, and lived on his own estate near Wodnian. Peter produced many writings, which are said to show an earnestness rather for the moral part of religion than for doctrines; in some points—such as the condemnation of secular dignity in the clergy and of the alliance between temporal and ecclesiastical power, of oaths, war, and capital punishment—his principles resemble those of the Waldenses, with whom he and his followers formed a connexion.[k] One Gregory, who, although of noble family, was a tailor by occupation, on applying to Rokyczana for the satisfaction of some perplexities, was referred by him to the writings of Peter, in which he found his own thoughts anticipated;[l] and in consequence of this he sought the author's acquaintance. After a time, Gregory, considering himself to have acquired a higher degree of spiritual insight, attempted to make a convert of Rokyczana, and to place him at the head of a new communion; but Rokyczana was not to be so gained,[m] although he treated the party with kindness, and procured for them from king George permission to settle at a lonely place called Kunwald.[n] The new society attracted members from all ranks; all called each other *brethren;* and, having convinced themselves that the church was hopelessly corrupt, they separated from it in 1457. Ten years later, they set up a ministry of their own, independent of any theory of succession, and resting its claims on the personal piety of the ministers, who at first were chosen by lot.[o] Rokyczana, notwithstanding his kindly feeling towards

[k] Palacky, IV. i. 463-9, 472-9, 490-5. Peter's extant writings date from 1433 to 1443. (Ib. 470.) That his historical knowledge cannot have been very exact, appears from his placing Peter Waldo earlier than Constantine. Ib. 476. See as to Peter, Lechler, ii. 504-6.

[l] Prima Ep. Fratrum ad Rokycz. in Giesel. II. iv. 461.

[m] Gregory says that Rokyczana (who is said by some to have been his uncle) allowed the truth of their opinions, but declined to incur obloquy on account of them. Giesel. l. c.

[n] Palacky, IV. i. 481, 485.

[o] Ib. 486-8, 497; Giesel. II. iv. 462-3.

the brethren,[p] found himself obliged to carry on an inquisition into their doctrines and practices. The settlement at Kunwald was broken up, and, in fulfilment of the oath taken by the king at his coronation, they were persecuted with great severity, so that they were driven to perform their services in the woods; while, unlike the Taborites, they professed and acted on a principle of patient endurance and submission.[q] But notwithstanding persecution, the party continued to increase.

The fairness with which the new king endeavoured to deal between the two great parties among his subjects has been acknowledged even by hostile writers, who also admit his great merit as a sovereign in other respects;[r] and in the position to which he had been raised, his prudence, courage, and skill were severely tried. From the Silesians and the Moravians he met with much opposition, of which Breslau was the centre. The excitement lately produced in that city by John of Capistrano has been already mentioned;[s] and the people were continually stirred to disaffection by the lower clergy and friars, who persuaded them that George was a Nero, a Decius, a murderer—that he was the great dragon of the Apocalypse, and that he prayed not to God, but to Rokyczana.[t] The Roman party in Bohemia divided its allegiance between the king and the papacy; and the emperor Frederick, who had himself been a candidate for the crown of Bohemia, regarded his successful rival with jealousy and ill-will.[u]

At Rome, George was acknowledged as king by Calixtus;[x] and Pius, in his eagerness to enlist so im-

[p] Crantz's Hist. of the United Brethren, Lond. 1780, p. 27.

[q] Schröckh, xxxiv. 748-9; Giesel. II. iv. 463; Palacky, IV. i. 489, 495-8; ii. 185, seqq. For their confession of 1504, see Lydii Waldensia, ii. 1, seqq.

[r] Cochl. 411.

[s] P. 195; Palacky, IV. i. 362.

[t] Giesel. II. iv. 452; Palacky, IV. ii. 106-9. Pius denies that he abetted the Silesians. Rayn. 1459. 21.

[u] Schröckh, xxxiv. 731.

[x] Rayn. 1458. 27; Palacky, IV. ii. 43.

portant an ally for the crusade, invited him to the congress of Mantua, although, from hesitation as to addressing him by the royal title, he sent the letter through the emperor.[y] George took occasion from this letter to claim the allegiance of those who had held aloof from him as a Hussite;[z] but he was unable to appear in person at Mantua,[a] and fresh questions soon arose between him and the papacy. Pius, in disregard at once of the *compactata* and of Rokyczana's claims, nominated the dean of Prague as archbishop;[b] and when the king, in 1462, sent an embassy to Rome, for the purpose of asking that Rokyczana's title might be acknowledged, and that the authority of the *compactata* might be clearly established, as John of Capistrano had disowned them, the pope himself declared that they had never been admitted by the papacy—which, he said, knew nothing of such compromises.[c] Moreover, he added, the generation to which this indulgence had been granted by the council of Basel was now almost extinct; the Bohemians, by failing to observe their own side of the *compactata*, had forfeited all right to claim the benefit of them; and, in any case, the pope might do away with the arrangement, and might substitute something better.[d]

Fantino della Valle, a doctor of laws, was sent with the ambassadors on their return, and was commissioned to persuade the Bohemians to give up the chalice and the *compactata*. But he behaved with such insolence to the king, by publicly taxing him with breach of his coronation-oath, and threatening him with deposition and anathema as a heretic, that George was with difficulty

[y] Rayn. 1458. 123-4; Comment. 85; Cochl. 416.

[z] Rayn. 1458. 18; Schröckh, xxxii. 238.

[a] Palacky, IV. ii. 82.

[b] Schröckh, xxxiv. 723.

[c] Relatio Anonymi, quoted by Giesel. II. iv. 453; Rayn. 1462. 14; Palacky, IV. ii. 215-19.

[d] Comment. 346-7; Jac. Papiens. in Rayn. 1462. 16; Palacky, IV. ii 220-32.

restrained from personal violence, and committed him for a time to prison; although he declared that Fantino was thus punished, not as papal legate, but for having acted unfaithfully as the king's procurator at Rome.[e] George indignantly disavowed the sense which the Roman party attempted to put on his oath. Was it possible, he asked, that he could have supposed his own religious opinions—founded, as they were, on the gospel and on the primitive faith—to be included among the heresies which he had bound himself to extirpate? If he had supposed the *compactata* to be heretical, was it possible that he should have asked the pope to confirm them? Rather would he sacrifice his crown than be false to his oath. And in proof of his sincerity as to the fulfilment of it, he was able to point to the severities which he had exercised against the more extreme sections of the utraquists,—the remnant of the Taborites and the new party of united brethren.[f] The pope, instead of answering a letter from George,[g] denounced him to the emperor as a heathen man and a publican, who had separated himself from the church; and it was in vain that the emperor attempted to intercede for him.[h] May 16, 1463.

When about finally to leave Rome, Pius cited the Bohemian king to answer within a hundred and eighty days; and in the meantime George was labouring to form a league of princes against the Turks, which should be independent of the papacy.[i]

The policy of Pius as to Bohemia had been dictated by his personal experience of that country and its parties;

[e] G. Podibr. in Dach. Spicil. iii. 833; Æn. Sylv. Comment. 435-40, 442; Rayn. 1462. 17-20; Cochl. 429; Palacky, IV. ii. 235, 249, 251, 257.

[f] Cochl. 427; Palacky, IV. ii. 41, 185, 242-3. Cf. Æn. Sylv. Comment. 435. By these severities he had incurred much suspicion among the Bohemians, so that he had even been required to confirm the *compactata*; and it is said that Rokyczana had preached against him. Pal. 186-7.

[g] See Cochl. 434.

[h] Mart. Coll. Ampl. iii. 1598; Cochl. 436; Palacky, IV. ii. 269-70.

[i] Rayn. 1464. 33; Palacky, IV. ii. 239, 270, 290, 305, 311, 313.

and it was continued by his successor Paul, chiefly under the influence of cardinal Carvajal, whose mission to Bohemia had produced in him an inflexible hostility to the Hussites, and who for many years had been labouring to undo the work of Constance and of Basel.[k]

July 22, 1465. The process against George was resumed, and was committed by the pope to Carvajal, Bessarion, and another cardinal; and "George of Podibrad, who styles himself king of Bohemia," was again cited to answer at Rome within a hundred and eighty days, for heresy, relapse, perjury, sacrilege, and blasphemy.[l] In the following year an alliance of Bohemian and other nobles was formed against George. They presented a list of twelve grievances; they demanded that the king should perform his coronation oath, and should expel Rokyczana with the utraquist clergy; and they asked the pope to give them another king, declaring a preference in favour of Casimir of Poland.[m]

At a diet which was held at Nuremberg, at Martinmas 1466, for the purpose of raising Germany against the Turks, Fantino della Valle appeared as papal legate, and insisted that the Bohemian ambassadors should be excluded, on the ground that their king was a heretic. By this insult George was deeply provoked, and at Christmas, while the tidings of a sentence of deposition passed on him at Rome two days before were on their way to him, he sent a defiance to the emperor, from whom he had met with much underhand enmity, instead of the gratitude which he had justly earned by delivering Frederick when besieged by his brother Albert.[n] The letter of defiance was composed by Gregory Heimburg,

[k] Palacky, IV. ii. 327, 355, 372-3.

[l] G. Podibr. ad Matth. Corvinum, in D'Achery, Spicil. iii. 831-2; Palacky, IV. ii. 355.

[m] Rayn. 1466. 28; Schröckh, xxxiv. 738; Palacky, IV. ii. 343, 351.

[n] See p. 188. Naucl. 1094; Schmidt, iv. 290-1, 296; Palacky, IV. ii. 416-422.

with all the vigour of his style, and with a hearty expression of the dislike and contempt with which he regarded the emperor.[o]

The king had endeavoured, by ceasing to insist on the other points of the *compactata*, to gain the papal sanction for the administration of the chalice to the laity, and for the consecration of an archbishop, who might ordain clergy both for the utraquists and for the adherents of the Roman system; but such proposals met with no attention.[p] The pope, without observing the usual forms of process, condemned George by repeated bulls, as guilty of heresy, perjury, sacrilege, and other offences; pronounced him to be deposed, and released his subjects from their engagements to him.[q] On Maundy Thursday following, George was denounced as foremost of those who had incurred the anathema of the church; and when the sentence was afterwards repeated, it was extended to his wife and children, to Rokyczana, and to Gregory Heimburg, who gladly brought the power of his learning and of his sarcastic pen to combat the papal assumptions in this new quarrel.[r]

A crusade was proclaimed against George, with the usual privileges for those who should take part in it. Casimir of Poland was disinclined to accept the overtures of the discontented Bohemians;[s] but Matthias of

[o] Palacky, IV. ii. 422, 502. Pius II. says that Gregory had been taken by robbers, and had been obliged to pay 6000 pieces of gold as a ransom. In consequence of this "quæcunque sibi acciderant, ab imperatore prodiisse arbitrabatur, eamque ob causam singulari eum odio persequebatur." Comment. 164.

[p] Palacky, IV. ii. 357-8. On one occasion, when an envoy from king George presented a memorial to the pope as he was returning from mass, Paul threw it down, and screamed out, "How canst thou, beast, dare in our presence to call a heretic who has been condemned by the church *king*? To the gallows with thee, and thy fellow of a heretic!" (Io. 373). There is much about disputes with Rokyczana in Rayn. 1465. 26, seqq.

[q] G. Podibr. in Dach. Spicil. iii. 834; Rayn. 1466. 26; Palacky, IV. ii. 356, 364, 419-20. The Breslauers had been absolved from their allegiance by Pius II. in 1463. Ep. 401.

[r] Rayn. 1467. 1; 1468. 6; Palacky, IV. ii. 365, seqq., 370, 391-4.

[s] Ib. 363, 466-7.

Hungary, a prince bold, able, ambitious, and unscrupu-
April—May, lous,[t] on being invited by the pope and
1469. by a party election[u] to wrest the kingdom from his father-in-law, responded with an eagerness which hardly needed the papal exhortation to disregard the ties of gratitude and of blood.[x] Paul had allowed Matthias to enter into a truce with the Turks, that he might be at liberty to turn his arms against the Bohemians; and a war of devastation began.[y] George, on the other hand, had appealed to a general council and to a future pope;[z] and he endeavoured to give his cause a national rather than a sectarian character, so that he still retained in office many persons whom he knew to be zealous for the Roman side in matters of religion.[a] The Germans in general were little inclined to move. Some of the princes and prelates had consulted universities on the question whether it were right for Christians to make war on heretics, and especially to attack the utraquists of Bohemia; and the answer had been in the negative.[b] But when the formal condemnation came from Rome, many students of Leipzig and Erfurt, excited at once by the ill repute of Bohemia as a nest of heresy, and by a youthful love of adventure, sold their books, and even their clothes, to fit themselves out for the new crusade.[c]

Although opposed to Matthias, to the catholic league of nobles, and to hosts of crusaders from foreign countries, George was for the most part successful in the war; and he was able to drive Matthias out of Bohemia.[d] But at

[t] Palacky, IV. i. 73.

[u] Ib. 578-83.

[x] Rayn. 1468 10; 1470. 1; Coxe, i. 281; Palacky, IV. ii. 360-7. See the letter of George to Matthias against the injustice of the pope's proceedings, Dach. Spicil. iii. 830-4.

[y] Schröckh, xxxii. 316; Palacky, IV. ii. 438.

[z] Ib. 433.

[a] Cochl. 411. It is noted as remarkable that all the Bohemian monasteries, except some which consisted of mendicants, were with the king. Palacky, IV. ii. 454.

[b] Giesel. II. iv. 455-6; Schröckh, xxxiv. 740; Palacky, IV. ii. 470-2.

[c] Ib. 422. [d] Ib. 521.

length the weight of years and weariness of conflict induced him to seek a compromise with Rome.[e] Before the effect of this application could be known, the king died on the 22nd of March, 1471,[f] having survived exactly a month after the death of Rokyczana.[g]

CHAPTER IV.

SIXTUS IV. AND INNOCENT VIII.

A.D. 1471-1492.

WHILE the popes were endeavouring, with but little success, to rouse the nations of Europe for the recovery of the east from the Mussulmans, important changes were in progress, which tended to strengthen the power of the crown in various western kingdoms. In England, this was the effect of Henry VII.'s policy, following on the destruction which had been wrought among the ancient nobility by the long and bloody wars of the Roses. In France, Lewis XI. was able to curb the nobles and the princes of the blood, and acquired the direct sovereignty over provinces which, under the forms of feudal tenure, had before been practically independent; and his son, Charles VIII., completed this work by marrying Anne, the heiress of Brittany (A.D. 1491).[h] In Spain, the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile were

[e] Rayn. 1471. 15, seqq.; Cochl. 439; Palacky, IV. ii. 657-9.

[f] Cochl. 439. For some very unfavourable terms with which the pope intended to try him, see Rayn. 1471. 17, seqq.

[g] Oswald, 44; Palacky, IV. ii. 662. George once said to Rokyczana, "Master, thou wouldest ever that all men should obey thee, but thou obeyest no man." Ib. 253.

[h] Hallam, i. 81, 83, 94; Martin, vii. 154, 219.

united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella; and the conquest of Granada by the "catholic sovereigns," extirpated the last remnant of the Moorish dominion. By these changes Spain rose for the first time to a place among the chief powers of Europe.[b]

The empire, indeed, was still under the impotent rule of Frederick III., who had even the mortification of seeing that his neighbours, George Podibrad of Bohemia, and Matthias Corvinus of Hungary—men raised from a lower rank to the sovereignty of countries to which he supposed himself to have a better title—were more powerful than he.[c] Yet during this time the foundation of the greatness of Austria was laid by the marriage of his son Maximilian with Mary, the only daughter and heiress of Charles "the Bold," duke of Burgundy.[d]

A.D. 1477.

After the death of Paul II. the cardinals assembled on the 6th of August 1471. Again it seemed as if Bessarion were likely to be elected; but the younger members of the college dreaded the severity of his character, and the election fell on Francis della Rovere, cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, who took the name of Sixtus IV.[e] The voters who had contributed to this result were liberally rewarded for their support with offices and ecclesiastical benefices.[f]

Aug. 9.

The new pope was born near Savona, in 1414. His descent was afterwards traced to a noble Piedmontese family of the same name, and when he had risen to greatness, these were willing to admit the connexion; but it seems to be certain that his origin was really very humble.[g]

[b] Hallam, i. 425-7.

[c] Rayn. 1483. 52; Schmidt, iv. 323; Coxe, i. 278.

[d] Comines, i. 336-7; Basin, iii. 19, 38; Krantz, Saxonia, 323; Hallam, M.A. i. 89.

[e] Vita Sixti IV. (supposed to be by Platina) in Murat. III. ii. 1053; Schröckh, xxxii. 340; Reumont, III. i. 163.

[f] Infess. 1805; Panvin. 346.

[g] Machiavelli styles him, "uomo di bassissima e vile condizione." (Ist. di Firenze, ii. 180.) The strong asser-

He had taught theology and philosophy in several universities, had become minister-general of the Franciscan order, and through the friendly influence of Bessarion had been promoted to the cardinalate in 1467.[h] He had published several works by means of the new art of printing[i]—among them, one treating of a question which had raised violent quarrels between his own order and the Dominicans—whether the Saviour's blood, which had been shed in his last sufferings, remained in union with the Godhead during the interval between his death and resurrection.[k] A.D. 1470.

Like other popes of the age, Sixtus, at entering on his office, professed a great zeal for the war against the Turks, declaring that he was willing to spend not only his money, but his blood in the cause of Christendom.[l] It was proposed that a general council of Christian powers should be held with a view to a crusade, but, as the pope and the emperor were unable to agree as to the place

tions of some partisans of the papacy to the contrary, and the significant silence of others, are remarkable. See the Life at the end of Platina, 348; Murat. III. ii. 1053; Rayn. 1471. 66; Ciac. iii. 3, and Oldoin. ib. 17; Wadding, xi. 89; Sism. viii. 412-13; Reumont, II. ii. 164; Gregorov. vii. 233.

[h] Vita in Murat. III. ii. 1054; Panvin. 346; Ciac. iii. 4; Gregorov. vii. 233. Sixtus is much extolled by John of Trittenheim, De Script. Eccl. 376.

[i] Panvin. 346.

[k] Vita in Murat. III ii. 1055. "Instabant prædicatores affirmantes illud quidem impossibile esse, sanguinem Christi in terris reperiri sine Deitate sibi unita. Hoc autem diluentes minores ipsi affirmabant, fieri quidem potuisse ut aliquid de sanguine in terris remanserit, licet Deitas non esset illi unita; quod ex ipsa circumcisione, et clavis sanguine delibutis, ostendi posset." (Ib.) "An sanguis Domini pro redimendo humano genere fusus triduo illo, quo anima sanctissima a corpore segregata erat, hypostatice Verbo Divino conjunctus fuisset, dignusque esset latriæ cultu." (Rayn. 1462. 45; cf. D'Argentré, i. 254; Æn. Sylv. Comment. 511, seqq.) Della Rovere's book, 'De Sanguine Christi,' is said to have first appeared in 1470. (Schröckh, xxxii. 343.) A Nuremberg edition of 1473 is in the British Museum. Pius II. (who, although he, with most of the cardinals, inclined to the Dominican side, needed the help of the Franciscans in order to the crusade) ordered (Aug. 1, 1464) that with regard to these questions neither party should call the other heretic. (Comment. 537; Murat. 1055; Rayn. 1463. 104; Wadding, xiii. 341.) Sixtus caused this controversy to be commemorated by a picture in the church of Santo Spirito, at Rome, which he rebuilt. Vita, 1066.

[l] Infess. 1896; Rayn. 1471. 71, seqq.; Schröckh, xxxii. 344.

of meeting, Sixtus sent cardinal-legates into the chief European kingdoms, for the purpose of conferring with the sovereigns on the design, and of establishing peace among them.[m] For the legation to France, Bessarion was chosen, at the desire of Lewis XI. himself, who was acquainted with the Greek cardinal's fame.[n] But Lewis took offence, either at his having visited the court of Burgundy before that of the suzerain,[o] or at his having desired the release of cardinal Balue, who, from having been the king's most trusted counsellor, had suddenly fallen into disgrace, and for years had been confined in an iron cage within the castle of Loches.[p] The legate had to wait two months for an audience; and when he was at length admitted into the royal presence, Lewis turned the scene into a farce by laying hold of his long beard, and quoting a verse of the Latin Grammar :—

"Barbara Græca genus retinent quod habere solebant."[q]

It is said that vexation at the failure of this mission was the cause of Bessarion's death,[r] which took place at Ravenna, as he was on his way back to Rome.[s] The legates who were sent into Germany and other countries met with no considerable success;[t] and although some

[m] Panvin. 347; Vita in Murat. III. ii. 1056-7; Jac. Volaterr. ib. xxiii. 91. See the bull for a crusade in Rayn. 1472. 2 (April, 1472).

[n] Rayn. 1472. 6-8. Vespasian of Florence says that Bessarion, having been disappointed in Della Rovere, after having helped him to the cardinalate, did not vote for him in the conclave; and that Sixtus, being unwilling to have near him a man of great influence, and to whom he was greatly indebted, sent Bessarion into France. Mai, Spicileg, i. 195.

[o] Brantome, ii. 348-9, ed. Lalanne. (Soc. de l'Histoire de France.) The biographer of Sixtus in Muratori says that Bessarion provoked Lewis by refusing to excommunicate the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy for insubordination. 1060.

[p] Basin, ii. 210, 212. His imprisonment lasted eleven years. Paul II. had tried to effect his deliverance. Rayn. 1471. 54.

[q] Brantome, l. c. This story, although resting on Brantome's authority alone, agrees well with Basin's account of the king's manner. iii. 177-80.

[r] Brant. ii. 349. R. Volaterr. 774.

[s] Vespas. 196; Vita Sixti, in Murat. III. ii. 1060.

[t] Rayn. 1472. 35; Schmidt, vi. 301, 308-9; Schröckh, xxxii. 346; Freher, ii. 143, seqq.

ships were sent into the east by the pope and the Venetian republic, the results were unimportant.[u]

But the objects in which Sixtus felt the greatest interest lay nearer home. With his pontificate the papacy enters on a new phase, in which it appears chiefly as a great secular power, to which the spiritual character was merely attached as an accident.[x] The system of providing for the pope's near kindred by high ecclesiastical dignities, or by the lucrative offices of the court, is no longer found sufficient, but the "nepotism" (as it was called) of the popes now aims at the establishment of their relations as sovereign princes; and even where such schemes of territorial aggrandizement are not carried out, the "nephews" become founders of great and wealthy families, which are decorated with high titles of dignity, and rank as a new power in the Roman system, counterbalancing that of the cardinals.[y] The excessive devotion of Sixtus to the interests of his family was shown as early as the first consistory of his pontificate, when, in defiance of the capitulations which he had subscribed at his election,[z] he bestowed the cardinalate on two of his nephews, Julian della Rovere and Peter Riario[a]—young men of humble birth, who had been educated as Franciscans, but speedily threw off the restraints of their monastic profession. Julian, indeed, although his habits of life were by no means strict, maintained the dignity of his office, and continued to be prominent under the succeeding popes, until he himself at length attained the papacy.[b]

Dec. 15, 1471.

[u] Jac. Volaterr. in Murat. xxiii. 90; Gregorov. vii. 235.

[x] Machiavelli, ii. 180-1; Gregorov. vii. 235.

[y] Ib. The Franciscan pope's excessive fondness for his kindred is sorrowfully owned by the annalist of his order, Wadding, xiii. 465.

[z] Gregorov. vii. 235-7.

[a] Infess. 1898; Ciac. iii. 42.

[b] He restored his titular church of St. Peter *ad vincula*. (Vita Sixti, in Murat. III. ii. 1058, where he is styled, "vir quidem singularis modestiæ et religionis.") According to some, he had been a boatman in early life. Bayle, art. *Jules II.*, n. A.

But Peter Riario, on whom his uncle heaped a prodigious accumulation of dignities and wealth (including the archbishoprick of Florence and the titular patriarchate of Constantinople), plunged into excesses of prodigality and debauchery, which absorbed much more than the vast income of his preferments, and within two years brought his life to an end, at the age of twenty-eight.[c] Sixtus is said to have lamented him with demonstrations of the deepest grief, and commemorated him by an epitaph in which his extravagance is exalted into a virtue.[d]

Jan. 5, 1474.

Other relations of the pope were brought forward, and by means of some of them he endeavoured to connect himself with royal or princely families.[e] One nephew married a daughter of the count of Urbino, and was provided with an endowment by the pope, while the count was rewarded with the title of duke.[f] Another, who is described as "a very little man, and of intellect corresponding to his person,"[g] married an illegitimate daughter of king Ferdinand of Naples; and in consideration of this alliance, Sixtus commuted for a white horse the tribute by which Naples was held under the apostolic see.[h] But the

[c] See Infess. 1895-6; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 167, 170; Vita Sixti, in Murat. III. ii. 1058; Rayn. 1474. 22; Gregorov. vii. 237-8, 242. Infessura says that he was poisoned, and Machiavelli mentions the belief (Ist. Fiorent. l. vii. p. 194; see Trollope, ii. 311); but this was suspected as to the death of almost every one in that age. "Ita splendidus erat," says Panvini, "ut pecuniæ perdendæ natus esse videretur . . . obiit voluptatibus confectus" (347). "Decessit tabidus voluptate." (Raph. Volaterr.)

[d] It ends, "Magno de se in tam florida ætate desiderio relicto quippe qui majora mente conceperat et pollicebatur, ut ædes miro sumptu apud Apostolos inchoatæ ostendunt." (Wadding, xiv. 90.) Chacon (iii. 43) gives a yet more audaciously flattering epitaph on this young debauchee:—

"Ante annos scivisse nocet; nam maxima virtus
Persuasit morti ut crederet esse senem."

[e] Panvin. 347; Ciacon. iii. 63-4.

[f] Sixtus, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. ii. 1470, 1472; Rayn. 1474. 19-21.

[g] Infess. 1895.

[h] Ferdinand had asked that he might be excused a portion of the tribute, as he possessed only the continental territory, while Sicily belonged to the crown of Aragon; but the pope remitted the whole. Vita in Murat. III. ii. 1058-9; Rayn. 1472. 52, seqq.; Sism. viii. 12; Gregorov. vii. 238.

most conspicuous of the lay nephews was Jerome Riario, who, like his brother cardinal Peter, was supposed to be in reality the pope's son.[i] Jerome, who according to some writers had been a cobbler in early life,[k] but appears rather to have been a clerk in the tax-office at Savona,[l] was summoned to Rome on the death of his brother, and succeeded to the favour which the cardinal had enjoyed. The pope endowed him out of the possessions of the church with Imola, Forlì, and other territories, and procured for him the hand of Catharine Sforza, an illegitimate daughter of Galeazzo of Milan, whose consent to the marriage was rewarded by the promotion of his son Ascanius to the cardinalate.[m] With a view to the advancement of his relations, the pope plunged deeply into the intricacies of Italian politics; and for the same purpose he had recourse to all manner of disgraceful arts for raising money. Preferments, even to the highest ranks in the hierarchy, were openly sold, without regard to the qualifications of the purchaser;[n] promises of preferment were often broken, and those who had paid for them were cheated out of their money.[o] New offices of court employment—some of them bearing oriental titles, such as Janissaries, Stradiots, Mamelukes,—were instituted for the purpose of sale.[p] The college of abbreviators was revived, and the appointments to it were sold.[q] The administration of justice was vitiated by the sale of pardons, even for capital offences.[r] The pope's taxation was oppressive; and the arts which he practised as to the market prices of provisions are said to have produced in some cases a famine among his subjects.[s]

[i] Machiav. ii. 180. "Figlio, nipote, o attinente di Papa Sisto." Infess. 1898; cf. 1939; Schröckh, xxxii. 366.

[k] This was said by the Florentine synod mentioned at p. 217 below.

[l] Gregorov. vii. 243.

[m] Panvin. 347; Rayn. 1472. 59.

[n] Infess. 1939.

[o] Ib. 1941; Panvin. 316 (346).

[p] Ib. 349; Infess. 1940. The Mamelukes were abolished by Innocent VIII. Panv. 454.

[q] Ib. 349.

[r] Infess. 1940.

[s] Ib. 1940, 1942; Panvin. 349.

The jubilee, which Paul II. had appointed to take place in 1475 — twenty-five years from the last celebration[t] — was eagerly caught at by Sixtus as a means of gathering money.[u] But the number of pilgrims and the amount of their offerings fell greatly short of the former jubilees — partly, it is said, because a pestilence was raging at the time, and partly because the pope's evil repute had made its way even into distant countries.[x] The personal character of Sixtus is painted by Stephen of Infessura in the darkest colours.[y] He is charged with unnatural vices, and with abuse of his patronage in favour of those who ministered to his depravity;[z] he is described as vain-glorious, avaricious, pitiless, delighting in cruel spectacles.[a] Under him, merit was discouraged, as it was no longer a help to preferment; he is said to have hated men of letters,[b] and to have checked the cultivation of learning by withdrawing the salaries of professorships. But on the other hand he did much for the increase of the Vatican library, which he placed under the care of the biographer Platina.[c]

In one instance the eagerness of Sixtus to promote the interests of his family led him to become an accomplice in a great and atrocious crime.

The government of Florence, although its constitution was still republican, had passed chiefly into the hands of

[t] Rayn. 1470. 55-73; Extrav. Commun. i. v. de Pœnit., etc., c. 4.

[u] Rayn. 1472. 60. Theiner prints a document in which indulgences are offered for Scotland, on condition of going to Glasgow cathedral, performing certain devotions, and contributing according to each pilgrim's means to the crusade; while, for a further payment, the journey to Glasgow might be commuted. 474-6.

[x] Rayn. 1475. 1; Reumont, III. i. 169; Gregorov. vii. 244-5.

[y] This writer says that the archbishop of Gran, ambassador from the emperor, in consequence of having spoken against the pope's manner of life, was deprived, imprisoned, and "curantibus his male finivit dies suos." 1907.

[z] Infess. 1939, who refers to this his fondness for Peter and Jerome Riario; on the other hand, see Filelfo in Baluz. Miscell. i. 515.

[a] Infess. 1941-2. [b] Ib. 1941.

[c] Panvin. 351; Rayn. 1484. 23-6; Tirab. VI. i. 123.

Cosmo de' Medici, whose munificent employment of his wealth on public objects, and in the encouragement of literature and the arts, procured for him great influence in his own time, both at home and abroad, and a high reputation with posterity.[d] At his death, in 1464, Cosmo was succeeded in the headship of the family by his son Peter, who died in December 1469, leaving two sons—Lorenzo and Julian.[e] Cosmo, while he possessed the reality of power, had always studiously preserved the character of a citizen;[f] but his descendants had come to regard themselves as princes, and to disregard the republican constitution.[g] As they still kept up the mercantile establishment by which the greatness of their family had been founded, their agents in various countries assumed the pretensions of ministers; their commercial affairs suffered from negligence and wasteful mismanagement; and Lorenzo unscrupulously used the public funds to cover the deficiencies which naturally followed.[h] At the same time he was careful to remove from his path, by procuring their banishment or otherwise, all who could have stood in the way of the ascendency of his family.[i] Among these the most prominent were the Pazzi, a family of nobles who, like the Medici, were engaged in trade, and whom Cosmo had endeavoured to conciliate by means of matrimonial connexions.[k] Francis Pazzi, in disgust at the exclusion of his kindred from the magistracy, and at other public and private wrongs which he traced to the influence of the Medici, removed from

[d] Machiav. ii. 148, seqq.; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 138.

[e] Sismondi, viii. 2, who, like later writers in general, blames Roscoe for extravagant partiality to the Medici. 4-5.

[f] Vespas. 330; Machiav. ii. 150; Roscoe's Lorenzo, 55, 70-7; Sism. vii. 279.

[g] Ib. viii. 54; Hallam, i. 363.

[h] Nardi, ii. 22; Sism. viii. 54, 236; Hallam, i. 363-4; Trollope, ii. 453. Roscoe endeavours to palliate this (278). It would seem that Cosmo had helped himself to his prosperity by the use of public money. Trollope, ii. 232.

[i] Sism. viii. 56.

[k] Machiav. ii. 207; Sism. viii. 57-8 Trollope, ii. 323.

Florence to Rome, where he undertook the management of a bank established by the family;[l] and to him Sixtus transferred the care of the papal accounts, which from the time of Nicolas V. had been in the hands of the Medici. The pope's nephew, count Jerome Riario, who had found the Medici an obstacle in the way of his ambition, was allied with the Pazzi by a common hatred; and a plot was concerted for the assassination of Lorenzo and Julian, with the design of effecting a revolution in favour of their enemies.[m] The pope was privy to the conspiracy, and, although he professed to desire no bloodshed, he plainly signified that, if murder should be perpetrated in the execution of it, the crime would meet with his indulgence.[n]

John Baptist of Montesecco, a condottiere in the papal service, was sent by Jerome to Florence, ostensibly on a mission to Lorenzo, but really in order that he might take part in the intended assassination.[o] The assistance of all the pope's forces was promised; and Raphael Riario, the pope's great-nephew, who had just been made cardinal at the age of eighteen, was transferred from the university of Pisa to Florence, with the character of legate, chiefly in order that his palace might serve to harbour such of the conspirators as were strangers to the city.[p] The young cardinal was charged to be guided by the directions of Bartholomew Salviati, who had been

[l] Machiav. ii. 208; Raph. Volaterr. 177; Nardi, i. 19; Sism. viii. 60, 288; Trollope, ii. 325-7. Nicolas had made Cosmo de' Medici his banker, in gratitude for favours received in earlier life. Vespas. 348-9.

[m] Machiav. ii. 210; Gregorov. vii. 249.

[n] This appears from the confession of John Baptist of Montesecco, in Roscoe, 445-8. Panvini says that Sixtus tried to keep his share in the plot secret by means of Count Jerome and Montesecco (347). Cf. Infess. 1899, 1907; Filelf. in Baluz. Miscell. i. 513; Roscoe, 141; Gregorov. vii. 249; Milman, Essays, 14.

[o] See his confession, in Roscoe, 441, seqq.; Machiav. ii. 210. Jerome was supposed to have instigated another plot for the murder of Lorenzo, in 1481. Diar. Parm. in Murat. xxii. 375.

[p] Machiav. ii. 212-13; Panvin. 347; Sism. ix. 65.

consecrated by the pope as archbishop of Pisa, but had been excluded from his see through the influence of his hereditary enemies, the Medici.[q] When, however, after some other plans had been disconcerted by various accidents, it was resolved that the assassination should be perpetrated in the cathedral, the conscience of the condottiere Montesecco took alarm; he declared that he would not add sacrilege to treachery; and it became necessary to transfer the task of despatching Lorenzo to two priests, whose reverence for sacred things had been blunted by familiarity.[r]

On Sunday the 26th of April, at the moment of the elevation of the host at high mass in the cathedral of Florence, the assassins fell on the brothers. Julian was slain on the spot; but Lorenzo, although slightly wounded, was able to escape into the sacristy, and was saved from his pursuers.[s] The conspirators rushed into the streets, and raised shouts of "Liberty! the people!" but instead of responding to these cries, the citizens, whom the Medici had gained by their profuse liberality and their magnificent displays, rose in their defence.[t] Some of the Pazzi and their accomplices were torn to pieces by the multitude; the archbishop of Pisa and Francis de' Pazzi, who had endeavoured to seize the public palace and to overpower the magistrates, were hung from the palace windows by order of the gonfaloniere; the members of the Pazzi

A.D. 1478.

[q] Infess. 1901; Panvin. 347; Filelf. in Baluz. Misc. i. 513; Nardi, i. 20; Machiav. ii. 207; Trollope, ii. 322. 328.

[r] Machiav. ii. 213-14; Sism. ix. 65-6. Giovio says that Montesecco was moved by Lorenzo's promising him a favour as to the recovery of some property. Vita Leonis X., 6.

[s] Diar. Parmense, in Murat. xxii. 277; Baluz. i. 504; Comines, 351; Sism. ix. 67. Julian left an illegitimate son, a few months old, who afterwards became pope Clement VII. (Gregorov. vii. 250; Machiav. ii. 221.) Raphael of Volterra says that his brother Antony Maffei was the person who stabbed Lorenzo, "odio ductus veteris in Volaterranos injuriæ." Antony was put to death for his crime; yet Lorenzo showed kindness to Raphael. 177-9.

[t] Comines, 352; Machiav. ii. 219, 272; Hallam, ii. 363; Sism. ix. 66.

family were sought out everywhere, and many of them and of their adherents were executed.[u] Montesecco, on being put to the torture, made disclosures which showed how deeply the pope had been concerned in the plot.

June 1. Sixtus did not hesitate to show his partisanship by declaring Lorenzo de' Medici and the magistrates of Florence to be guilty of treason and sacrilege, to be excommunicate, anathematized, infamous, outlawed, and incapable of making a testament. He ordered their houses to be demolished, their property to be confiscated; and Florence was to be placed under interdict, unless they were forthwith made over to the ecclesiastical tribunals, for having laid hands on the archbishop of Pisa and other ecclesiastics.[x] In execution of the pope's threat, the money of Florentine bankers was seized both at Rome and at Naples; and Sixtus, in concert with king Ferdinand, threw troops into the Florentine territory.[y] The Florentines attempted to appease his wrath, and were willing to acknowledge their fault; but finding him implacable, they resolved to stand on their defence. They wrote to the pope,

July 21. strongly denouncing his conduct, and plainly charging him with having employed assassins.[z] They put forth a vindication, in which Montesecco's confession was embodied; and by the circulation

Aug. 11. of this document, with other letters, they endeavoured to bespeak the sympathy of foreign potentates and prelates.[a] After having consulted

[u] Infess. 1899; Raph. Volaterr. 178; P. Jovius, Vita Leonis X. p. 6; Machiav. ii. 214 16, 219-20; Comines, 352; Trollope, ii. 354-7. One of the murderers, having taken refuge at Constantinople, was given up by Sultan Mahomet, out of respect for Lorenzo. Annal. Bonon. in Murat. xxiii. 902; Hammer, ii. 179; Nardi, i. 20.

[x] Rayn. 1478. 5, seqq.; Baluz. i. 503; Giesel. II. iv. 151; Roscoe, App. xiv.

[y] Diar. Parm. in Murat. xxii. 279; Machiav. ii. 221; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 186.

[z] Gieseler (II. iv. 155) gives extracts from this letter, which was first published by Lord Bridgewater at Paris, 1814.

[a] See Roscoe, Append. xv.; Infess.

eminent canonists, they compelled the priests within their territories to say mass, in defiance of the papal sentence;[b] and a synod of ecclesiastics, under the presidency of Gentile, bishop of Arezzo, repelled the excommunication, declared the pope himself to be excommunicate for having unjustly uttered it, and appealed against him to a general council.[c]

The common feeling throughout Europe was adverse to Sixtus. The emperor and other princes threatened to withdraw from his obedience if he persisted in an unjust war.[d] Lewis of France, who had special connexions with the Medici, spoke of assembling a general council by the authority of princes, if the pope's consent were not to be obtained; he threatened to revive the pragmatic sanction in all its force, and to stop the payment of annates from his dominions, on the ground that the funds which were levied for war against the infidels were employed against Christians, or went to enrich the pope's nephew Jerome.[e]

Meanwhile the Florentines were hard pressed by the combined forces of the pope and of king Ferdinand, under the command of the king's son Alfonso, duke of Calabria.[f] They requested Ferdinand to state his terms of peace, but found them too humiliating; whereupon Lorenzo, in his distress, ventured on the bold expedient of going in person to Naples, where, by the power of his discourse, and by his representations as to the true interest of the kingdom, he was able to convert Ferdinand from an enemy into an ally.

Dec. 1479.

1907; Panvin. 347. Montesecco's evidence is wanting in the copy given by Baluze. (Misc. i. 503-5.) See also a letter to the emperor, bitterly complaining of Sixtus, in Baluz. 505-8.

[b] Diar. Parm. in Murat. xxii. 285; Machiav. ii. 226.

[c] Ib. 227; Roscoe, 156; Giesel. II. iv. 152. Döllinger faintly throws doubt on this synod, ii. 354.

[d] Raph. Volaterr. l. xxii. c$_9$. 819; Sism. ix. 75; Schröckh, xxxii. 354; Martin, vii. 141.

[e] Preuves des Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. 298, 516; Diar. Parm. 284; Jac. Papiens. in Rayn. 1478. 16, 19; Sism. R. I. ix. 75; Hist. Fr. xiv. 548.

[f] Machiav. ii. 234; Raph. Volaterr. 178.

On the 6th of March 1480, an alliance was concluded between Naples and the Florentine republic, to the great indignation of the Venetians and of the pope.[g]

While Italy was thus distracted, the Turks advanced in their career of conquest. They took Otranto, where 12,000 out of 22,000 inhabitants were put to the sword, and revolting acts of cruelty, outrage and profanity were committed;[h] and they laid siege to Rhodes, which was defended by the knights of St. John.[i] It was evident that they aimed at Rome, and terrible stories were told of vows which Mahomet had made for the ruin of Christendom.[k] Sixtus was so greatly alarmed that he spoke of retiring to Avignon; he issued urgent bulls for the crusade;[l] he declared that he would even give his golden crown and the ornaments of his palace towards the expenses of the holy war,[m] and the fear of the infidels prevailed with him to grant peace and absolution to the Florentines.[n] This was not, however, to be done without formalities suitable to the greatness of his pretensions; and the Florentines were not in a condition to dispute about such matters. Twelve of the most eminent citizens, with the bishop of Volterra at their head, appeared at Rome as representatives of the republic.[o] They were admitted within the gates in the dark, and without any of the marks of honour which were

Aug. 21, 1480.

[g] Machiav. ii. 237-41; Diar. Parm. 335; Panvin. 348; P. Jovius, Vita Leonis, 5; Nardi, i. 21; Rayn. 1479. 19; Roscoe, 162-6.

[h] Jac. Volaterr. in Murat. xxiii. 110; Hammer, ii. 181.

[i] Rayn. 1480. 2-16; Hammer, ii. 205-6.

[k] Marin. Sanut. in Murat. xxii. 1213. See Rayn. with Mansi's note, t. x. 482; Bayle, art. *Mahomet II.*, n. H.

[l] Rayn. 1480. 20-4, 26-9.

[m] Diar. Parm. in Murat. xxii. 345; Rayn. 1480. 17; 1481. 34. In the Canterbury convocation of 1480, a papal collector appeared and asked for help against the Turks, saying that Mahomet intended an assault on Rome, and the utter destruction of the Christian name, and that the pope "omnia vasa et pocula sua argentea in pecuniam convertit," with a view to defence. But although the matter was discussed at the time, and after an adjournment of three months, nothing was concluded respecting it. Wilkins, iii. 613.

[n] Panvin. 346.

[o] Jac. Volaterr. in Murat. xxiii. 113.

usually bestowed on ambassadors; and, having expressed their penitence and their desire of reconciliation, they were on Advent Sunday brought Dec. 3. into the presence of the pope, who was seated on a lofty throne in the portico of St. Peter's. He addressed to them a rebuke "full of pride and anger"[p] for the disobedience of which their countrymen had been guilty; and as they knelt before him, he lightly applied a rod[q] to the shoulders of each, and chanted the verses of the *Miserere* alternately with the cardinals. The envoys were then admitted to kiss his feet and receive his blessing; the doors of the church were thrown open, and the pope was carried into it in state, and seated on the high altar.[r]

The Florentines bound themselves to contribute a certain number of galleys for the Turkish war;[s] and a force of papal and Neapolitan troops was sent to attempt the recovery of Otranto. The death of Mahomet "the Conqueror" (as his people styled him),[t] and May 3, 1481. the contest which followed between his sons, prevented the reinforcement of the garrison; and the Turks, after having held the place for somewhat less than a year, were forced to capitulate to the duke Aug. 10. of Calabria.[u]

By this success the pope was extravagantly elated, and he plunged afresh into war, chiefly for the purpose of gaining Ferrara for his nephew Jerome. In conjunction with the Venetians, his troops contended with those of Naples, which, under the duke of Calabria, advanced to

[p] Machiav. ii. 244.

[q] "Virgula quæ de more gestari manibus a pœnitentiariis solet." Jac. Volaterr. 114.

[r] Ib. 113-15; Raph. Volaterr. 179; Machiav. ii. 243-5; Raynald. 1480. 39-41.

[s] Diar. Parm. 352; J. Volat. 115; Machiav. ii. 245; Trollope, ii. 300.

[t] G. Phranzes, i. 32; Hammer, ii. 207. The event was celebrated by a festival at Rome, and generally throughout western Christendom. Notaio del Nantiporto [a name which the editor cannot explain] in Murat. III. ii. 1071; Diar. Parm. 374; Infess. 1901.

[u] Jac. Volat. 134-5, 147; Infess. 1961; Rayn. 1481. 28-30; Sism. ix. 140-1.

the very gates of Rome,[x] until king Ferdinand contrived by large offers to gain Jerome to his side, and Sixtus, under his nephew's influence, was led to enter into a Neapolitan alliance in exchange for that of Venice.[y] He now invited the Venetians to join the league with a view to the pacification of Italy; and on their refusal he sent forth bulls denouncing the heaviest punishments against them. Venice was placed under interdict; the chiefs of the republic were excommunicated, all monks were charged to quit its territory; the offices of religion were to cease, without even the exception of communion on the bed of death; and there were the usual disabilities as to intercourse with faithful Christians, and other secular penalties by which the popes attempted to increase the spiritual terrors of their sentences.[z] But the Venetians, whose subjection to the papacy was never very absolute,[a] after having consulted learned jurists of Padua,[b] took vigorous measures in opposition to the pope. The council of Ten ordered that a strict watch should be kept to prevent the introduction of missives from Rome. They required the patriarch to deliver to them any such document if it should reach him; and, through his compliance, they got possession of the bulls, and were able to prevent the publication of them within the territory of the republic.[c] They ordered the clergy to perform their functions as

Nov. 28.

May 25, 1483.

[x] Machiav. ii. 248-9.

[y] Marin. Sanut. in Murat. xxii. 1211; Rayn. 1482; Sism. ix. 154.

[z] Marin. Sanut. 1227-8; Rayn. 1482. 17; 1483. 12, seqq.; Schröckh, xxxii. 360; Daru, ii. 520, seqq.; Sism. ix. 159. There was a second bull on July 15. Rayn. 1493. 18-21.

[a] They had lately had differences with the pope as to ecclesiastical patronage. (Daru, ii. 528-31.) Yet Philip de Comines says that Venice is the place "ou le service de Dieu est le plus solemnellement faict; et encores qu'il y peut bien avoir d'autres fautes, si croy-je que Dieu les a en aide, pour la reverence qu'ils portent au service de l'Eglise." (Petitot, xiii. 83.) There is an undated letter of the Venetians to the pope, full of calm scorn and defiance, Baluz. i. 512.

[b] Marin. Sanut. 1228.

[c] Sism. ix. 159.

usual, and banished some Franciscans who resisted the command.[d] They assembled all the bishops within their boundaries, and in their presence appealed to a future general council; whereupon the assembly accepted the appeal, and suspended the interdict. The titular patriarch of Constantinople, who presided, ventured to cite the pope before the future council, and means were found to post up the summons on the bridge of St Angelo, and even on the doors of the Vatican.[e] And in addition to the ecclesiastical appeal, the Venetians entreated the princes of Christendom to give them an opportunity of stating their grievances before a general congress.[f]

The war was continued,[g] and in addition to it the old feuds between the anti-papal Colonna and Savelli families on the one side, and the Orsini, who were favoured by the pope, on the other side, raged with a fury which desolated the country around Rome.[h]

A peace was at length concluded between Naples and Venice at Bagnolo.[i] In this agreement there was no reservation for the benefit of Jerome Riario; and the pope, who was already ill when the tidings of it reached him, was so deeply mortified by its terms that his vexation is supposed to have caused his death, which took place on the fifth day after the date of the treaty.[k]

Aug. 7, 1484.

Aug. 12.

In the city of Rome the pontificate of Sixtus was marked by much building and rebuilding, in the course of which, however, it is to be lamented that there was great destruction, not only of classical remains, but of venerable

[d] Marin. Sanut. 1228.

[e] Ib.; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 208; Schröckh, xxxii. 360-1.

[f] Giesel. II. iv. 159.

[g] See the Notaio del Nantip. in Murat. III. ii.; Rayn. 1483-4.

[h] Infess. 1929; Not. del Nantip.; Panvin. 351; Machiav. ii. 255; Reumont, III. i. 174-5; Gregorov. vii. 258, 267.

[i] Jac. Volaterr. 198-200; Mar. Sanut. 1232.

[k] Infess. 1939; Panvin. 351; Machiav. ii. 256; Raph. Volat. l. xxii. col. 820; Mar. Sanut. 1234; Rayn. 1484. 20.

churches which had come down from the early centuries of Christianity.[l] His name is still preserved by the Janiculan bridge, which he rebuilt,[m] and by the chapel in the Vatican, which derives its chief fame from the grandeur of the decorations afterwards added by Michael Angelo.[n] But perhaps more important than any individual buildings were his labours to render the city more habitable by paving and widening the streets, and by removing the porticoes and other projections which Ferdinand of Naples, at the Jubilee of 1475, pointed out to him as hindrances which prevented the popes from being fully masters of Rome.[o] The hostile Stephen of Infessura tells us that Sixtus was followed to the tomb by the undisguised hatred and execrations of his people.[p]

The death of Lewis XI. of France preceded that of Sixtus by about a year. At the instance of cardinal Julian della Rovere, he had consented to release cardinal Balue, after an imprisonment of fourteen years.[q] In his last illness, when acute bodily sufferings awoke within him remorse for his long life of sin and crime, and rendered more intense the superstition which had always been a part of his character,[r] he gathered around him all the most famous relics which could be obtained,—among them the holy phial,

Aug. 30, 1483.

[l] "Ut vere urbem ex lutea lateritiam se reliquisse dicere jure posset, quemadmodum Augustum olim dixisse accepimus se ex lateritia marmoream." (Panv. 351.) "Adeo enim ubique per urbem ædificatur, ut brevi novam formam omnino sit habitura, si Sixto vivere contigerit." Vita, in Murat. III. ii. 1064; see Reumont, III. i. 405-8; Raph. Volat. col. 820.

[m] Vita, l. c., where it is suggested that he wished to prevent accidents at the time of jubilee, such as that which occurred under Nicolas V. See above, p. 142; Infess. 1896; Mar. Sanut. 1234.

[n] Gregorov. vii. 642-3; Reumont, III. i. 407. Sixtus also built and restored much at Assisi. (Vita, 1065.) See for his other buildings, Panvin. 350.

[o] Infess. 1897, 1900; Reumont, III. i. 170, 403; Gregorov. vii. 641.

[p] His funeral was shabby. "Erat quidem niger, deformis, et guttur ejus inflatum, visu similis diabolo; anima ejus ab omnibus qui eum viderunt maledicta et diabolo mandata fuit palam et aperte." 1943.

[q] Comines in Petitot, xii. 369; Jac. Volat. 120; Not. del Nantip. 1071.

[r] Hallam, i. 91.

which had never before been removed from Reims since the time (as was believed) of Clovis.[s] He entreated the pope to send him any relics which might relieve his agonies; and Sixtus complied with the request so liberally that the Romans in alarm remonstrated lest their city should suffer by being stripped of such treasures.[t] He sent for hermits and other devotees of noted sanctity, in the hope that their intercessions might prolong his life.[u] Of these the most renowned was one Francis, a native of Paola, in Calabria.[x] Francis, it is said, was born with only one eye; but his mother vowed that, if the other eye might be granted to him, he should wear the habit of St. Francis for a year, at least, and her wish was fulfilled.[y] He became a minorite friar, but, like Peter of Murrone in an earlier time,[z] he withdrew to live in a cave, and, although utterly illiterate, was held in veneration for the austerity of his life and for his reputation of miraculous power.[a] Lewis, having heard his fame, entreated the king of Naples and the pope that this holy man might be sent to him. The hermit, after having refused a request from his sovereign, was compelled by the pope's authority to set out;[b] and as he passed through Rome his appearance produced a vast excitement. Sixtus granted him leave to found a society of "Hermits of St. Francis," and, with a view to the influence which he might be able through such an agent to exercise on the mind of Lewis, admitted him to long conferences. On reaching the French court, Francis was received with as much honour

[s] Comines, 391; Jean de Troyes, 116.

[t] The pope pacified them by saying that he had given away but little, and that the French king had deserved greatly of the church. Jac. Volat. 187.

[u] "Y fist aussi venir grand nombre de bigots, bigottes et gens de devotion, comme hermites et sainctes creatures, pour sans cesser prier à Dieu qu'il permist qu'il ne mourust point, et qu'il le laissast encores vivre." Jean de Troyes, in Petitot, xiv. 108.

[x] See the Acta Sanctorum, April 2; Guill. de Villeneuve, in Petitot, xiv. 289.

[y] Acta SS. 108.

[z] See vol. vi. p. 296.

[a] Comines, 377; Acta SS. 110-15.

[b] Ib. 115.

"as if he had been the pope himself."[c] While others were disposed to ridicule him, Lewis could not endure to be long without his company; he knelt before him in abject superstition, hung on his words, and entreated him to spare him yet a little, as if his life were at the hermit's disposal; he bestowed rich rewards on him, and, in order to propitiate him, founded convents at Plessis and at Amboise for the new religious society, the members of which, not content with the name of minorites, desired to signify their profession of utter insignificance by styling themselves Minims.[d]

Although Charles VIII., the son and successor of Lewis, had attained his legal majority, the administration was for some years in the hands of his sister Anne, a young princess of clear and firm mind, and of her husband the lord of Beaujeu.[e] The beginning of the reign was marked by a manifestation of national spirit in opposition to the papacy. At the first meeting of the estates there was much complaint as to Roman exactions,[f] and when memoirs for the redress of grievances were presented, the first subject in that which related to ecclesiastical affairs was the restoration of the pragmatic sanction. Some of the bishops,

Jan. 15 to March 14, 1484.

[c] Comines, 377; Rayn. 1483. 22.

[d] Comines, 377, 397; Rayn. 1483. 30, seqq.; Wadding, xv. 370-4. Comines seems to have been much perplexed as to Francis of Paola: "Ne pense jamais avoir veu homme vivant de si saincte vie, ne ou il semblat mieux que le Sainct Esprit parlat de sa bouche; car il n'estoit clerc ne lettré, et n'apprit jamais rien; vray est que sa langue Italienne luy aidoit bien à se faire émerveiller." He spoke like one brought up in a court; his wisdom seemed to come of inspiration. "Il est encore vif, parquoy se pourroit bien changer ou en mieux ou en pis, et pour ce m'en tay" (377-8). Charles VIII. continued to favour the minims, and on his Italian expedition founded the well-known convent of the Trinità del Monte, at Rome, which remained in the possession of French minims until the first Revolution. Francis of Paola died at Plessis, April 2, 1507 (Reumont, III. i. 181; Rayn. 1507. 25), and was canonized by Leo X. in 1519.

[e] Sism. Hist. d. Fr. xv. 2. There is a monstrous eulogium on Lewis in a letter from the pope to Charles (Rayn. 1483. 35). At his death, Anne was 23 years of age, and Charles was 14.

[f] Martin, vii. 182.

who were indebted to Rome for their promotion,[g] protested against the interference of the lay estates in such a matter; but, although the pragmatic sanction was not mentioned in the royal answer to the memorials, the parliaments of France continued to proceed as if it were still in force.[h]

The fury of the Roman factions burst forth with increased violence on the death of Sixtus, and the feelings of the populace towards the late pope were displayed in outrages against his favourites, his connexions, and his countrymen in general. The palace of Jerome Riario was sacked; its gardens and ornaments laid waste; and the stores of the Genoese merchants were plundered.[i]

On the 26th of August—a fortnight after the death of Sixtus—the cardinals proceeded to the election of a successor.[k] Intrigue was busy among them; and, according to the custom which had grown up, and which Innocent VI. had in vain attempted to suppress,[l] they endeavoured to secure advantages for themselves, and to prevent a recurrence of some late abuses, by entering into capitulations. The future pope was pledged to give one hundred gold florins monthly to every cardinal whose yearly income was under four thousand, to refrain from making more than one cardinal of his own family, and from entrusting to any of his kinsmen the fortresses of St.

[g] In the same year the procurator-general appealed against the pope's nomination of a bishop of Tournay, as being contrary to the decrees of Constance and of Basel, and to the pragmatic sanction. Lib. de l'Egl. Gall., Preuves, 355, seqq.

[h] Ib. 269, 617; Martin, vii. 174-6, 191; Sism., Hist. d. Fr. xiv. 648, 650, 666-7, 679. There is a letter of Innocent VIII. to Charles, warning him not to allow any measure which might lessen the papal authority (July 25). Rayn. 1485. 37.

[i] Burchard, 8; Not. del Nantip. 1089, seqq.; Infess. 1942, 1944-5. There is a curious account of the preparations for the funeral of Sixtus in Burchard, 3-5, ed. Gennarelli.

[k] Infess. 1947. Burchard describes the arrangements (12, seqq.). As the cardinals were going to the conclave, each was beset by dependants imploring him to get them offices, or other favours. Ib. 14.

[l] Rayn. 1484. 28.

Angelo, Civita Vecchia, and Tivoli; and in all weighty matters he was pledged to take the advice of the sacred college.[m] Borgia was so confident of success in the election, that he barricaded his palace in order to protect it from the spoliation which was usually committed on the dwelling of a new pope.[n] But Julian della Rovere and Ascanius Sforza[o] exerted themselves in opposition to him, and by special promises gained many votes for John Baptist Cibò, cardinal of St. Cecilia and bishop of Melfi, who was chosen on the fourth day of the conclave and took the name of Innocent VIII.[p]

Aug. 29.

The family of Cibò was of Greek origin, but had been long settled at Genoa and Naples.[q] The pope's father had been viceroy of Naples under king René, and senator of Rome in the pontificate of Calixtus III.[r] Innocent was a man of handsome person and of popular manners.[s] His earlier life had been lax, and under him Rome saw the novel scandal of seven illegitimate children, the offspring of different mothers, openly produced as the pope's family, and the objects of his paternal favour.[t]

[m] Rayn. 1484. 28 9, 30-1. Gennarelli publishes two letters written on the election to L. de' Medici. N. in Burch. 11.

[n] Rayn. 1484. 33.

[o] There was a question whether Sforza should be admitted into the conclave, as his "mouth" had not been formally "opened"; but this was decided in his favour (Ib. 28). M. Sanuto says that, seeing that he had no chance of being chosen, he threw his influence into the scale of the poorest cardinal, flattering himself that with such a pope he might really be master of the papacy; but that in this he was disappointed (Murat. xxii. 1236). Vespucci tells L. de' Medici that Julian, if he play his part well, may be virtual pope. N. in Burch. 33.

[p] Infess. 1947; Not. del Nantip. 1091; Gregorov. vii. 276 7.

[q] At Naples they had borne the name of Tomacelli the family to which Boniface IX. belonged; and they were called Cibò from the chess-pattern (κύβος) in their arms. Panvin. 350.

[r] Infess. 1947; Gregorov. vii. 277.

[s] G. A. Vespucci, in n. in Burchard, ed. Gennarelli, 33; M. Sanuto, 1236; Panvin. 354; Gregorov. vii. 278. "Nam et infimis conditionis hominibus aeque exosculabatur amplectebaturque. Verum quum omnibus blandus esset, nemini tamen benignus, innatumque avaritiam jocis atque dictertis transigebat." Raph. Volat., col. 820.

[t] Infess. 1948; Raph. Volat., col. 821. It has been said by some writers

But, although Innocent may have wished to endow his son Francis[u] with principalities, after the manner of Sixtus IV., the only course which he found practicable was that of enriching his children out of the revenues of the church; and for this purpose, and to defray the costs of his war with Naples, he continued without abatement the corrupt and simoniacal exactions of his predecessors.[x] Offices were created for the sake of the price which might be got by the sale of them; and the purchasers sought to repay themselves by using their opportunities of exaction.[y] Two papal secretaries were detected in forging bulls; and as they were unable to pay the sum which was demanded for a pardon, they were put to death.[z] With these abuses in the administration was combined an increased licence of manners in the papal court, which did not fail to affect the habits of the Romans in general.[a]

Although Innocent, after his election, had sworn a

(as M. Sanuto, 1236) that Innocent had been married as a layman. Burchard varies much—describing Franceschetto at different times as son of the pope's brother (91), as son of the pope, although styled nephew (95), as his bastard (107), and as his son, "ex uxore sua" (132). Guidantonio Vespucci reports to Lorenzo de' Medici, immediately after the election: "Ha figliuoli grandi bastardi, credo almeno uno, e figliuole femine maritate qui" (n. in Burch. 33). Infessura makes the number of children seven (l. c.), while a well-known epigram raises it to sixteen:—

"Octo Nocens genuit pueros, totidemque puellas,
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem."

Only two of them are mentioned by name—Franceschetto, and Theodorina who was married to a Genoese. See Gregorov. vii. 278; Giesel. II. iv. 162.

was usually known by the diminutive Franceschetto (Infess. 1977). He shocked the punctilious Burchard by taking precedence of the archbishop of Arles in a procession. 124.

[x] Infess. 1965, 1980-1, 1992, 1996, etc.; Sism. viii. 224; Schröckh, xxxii. 381.

[y] Infess., as above.

[z] Ib. 1991; Burch. 127-8.

[a] Thus cardinal Riario, at two sittings, won 14,000 ducats of Franceschetto Cibò, who complained to his father of false play. The pope desired the cardinal to refund, but was answered that he had spent the money on his palace. (Infess. 1992.) The same cardinal won 8000 ducats of cardinal Balue. (Ib.) When the pope's vicar issued an order against the keeping of concubines, either by the clergy or by laymen, Innocent made him recall it, "propter quod talis effecta est vita sacerdotum et curialium, ut vix reperiatur qui concubinam non retineat,

[u] From his insignificant person, he

second time to the capitulations imposed by the cardinals, and had become pledged neither to absolve himself nor to accept a release, he held himself at liberty, when firmly established in his seat, to repudiate these obligations as being contrary to the interests of the holy see.[b] And having promised to the Romans, with the other cardinals, and again after his election, that he would bestow the more valuable Roman preferments on none but citizens, he evaded the oath by admitting strangers to the freedom of the city,[c] and afterwards promoting them as if they were qualified according to his promise. "But," says the chronicler Stephen of Infessura, "it is no wonder if he deceived the Roman people, since he had deceived Him to whom he had vowed and promised chastity."[d]

Throughout this pontificate Rome was distracted by the feuds of the Colonna and Orsini factions.[e] And in 1485 the pope increased the disorders of his city by allowing all who had been banished, for whatever cause, to return. In consequence of this, Rome became a haunt of villains of every sort, who eagerly flocked to avail themselves of the papal clemency. Robbery and murder were frequent; churches were plundered of their plate and ornaments; every morning's light discovered in the streets the bodies of men who had been assassi-

ad laudem Dei et fidei Christianæ" (Infess. 1996-7). At the carnival of 1491, the cardinals drove about in splendid carriages, with masked attendants, and sent boys to one another's houses, singing "verba lasciva et eis delectabilia," with buffoons and mummers, attired in silk, and in gold and silver brocade. Ib. 2000.

[b] Burch. 35; Rayn. 1484. 41. Innocent VI. had sanctioned such repudiation in 1353, and it was approved by casuists, on the ground that cardinals, during the vacancy of the see, had no power to do anything but to elect a pope. Sism. viii. 171.

[c] Infess. 1946, 1949, 1950; Rayn. 1484. 42. The Romans were accustomed to make a special capitulation of this sort (Gregorov. vii. 279); but Rinaldi says that it was an abuse: "Quinimmo ut Græci, Hebræi, vel Romani apud Deum discrimen nullum est, ita illius vices in terris gerens, omnium gentium abscisso respectu, dignis quibuslibet sacerdotia conferre potest." 1484. 42.

[d] 1950.

[e] Infess. 1966; Panvin. 345; Gregorov. vii. 279.

nated during the night; and the perpetrators of these crimes found an asylum in the houses of cardinals.[f] After a time, Innocent found it necessary to proclaim that murderers and other criminals should leave the city. But the spirit of his administration was expressed by the sarcastic saying of a high officer, that "God willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should pay and live." Immunity from all punishment was to be bought, if only a sufficient price were offered.[g]

Although Innocent had himself in earlier life been in the service of the Neapolitan crown, he speedily found an opportunity of quarrelling with Ferdinand, by requiring that tribute should be paid for Naples as in former times, and by refusing to accept the white horse for which Sixtus had commuted the payment.[h] In order to maintain this claim (which is supposed to have been connected with a project for the advancement of his son Franceschetto[i]) he allied himself with the disaffected Neapolitan nobles, and put forward a grandson and namesake of king René as claimant of the throne.[k] In the war which followed, Ferdinand's son, Alfonso, duke of Calabria, occupied the Roman Campagna with his troops, and for months distressed the city by cutting off all communications from outside;[l] but at length a treaty was concluded which was greatly in favour of the pope. The king was to pay tribute to Rome; the barons were free to acknowledge the pope and the church as their immediate lords; and the pope was to have in his own hands the disposal of

A.D. 1485.

Aug. 11, 1486.

[f] Infess. 1957-8, 1984, 1987, 2005-6; Gregorov. vii. 287. Yet Panvini speaks of Innocent as having taken more care for public order than any former pope (355), and Raphael of Volterra especially praises him on this account. Col. 821.

[g] Schröckh, xxxii. 380; Reumont, III. ii. 193.

[h] Rayn. 1485. 40. As to this quarrel, see documents in Baluz. i. 518-24.

[i] Schröckh, xxxii. 371.

[k] Infess. 1955; Rayn. 1486. 4-5; Giann. iv. 382; Gregorov. vii. 281.

[l] Infess. 1957; Gregorov. vii. 282.

bishopricks and other dignities in the Neapolitan kingdom.[m] But hardly had this treaty been concluded when Ferdinand set its conditions at nought. He allowed the tribute to fall into arrear; he assumed the entire patronage of sees within his dominions; and, in defiance alike of honour and of humanity, he and his son put to death many of the nobles whose safety had been solemnly promised.[n] The pope complained loudly as to the tribute; but, after some feeble remonstrances, he did not venture to intercede for the allies who were exposed to the perfidy and cruelty of Ferdinand and Alfonso.[o] Hostilities again began, and were prolonged for some years.

Innocent anathematized Ferdinand for withholding the payment of tribute, and declared him to be deposed and the kingdom to be forfeited to the Roman church; but in 1492 a fresh treaty was concluded, on the same terms which had before been so little regarded.[p]

In order to strengthen himself for this contest, Innocent found it expedient to seek the alliance of Lorenzo de' Medici, to whom he had formerly been opposed. He married his son Franceschetto to a daughter of Lorenzo by his wife, Clarice Orsini;[q] and bestowed the dignity of cardinal on the magnifico's[r] son John, who was then only thirteen years old. The promotion was to be kept secret

Nov. 1487.

Mar. 1489.

[m] Rayn. 1486. 13-15; Panvin. 355; Raph. Volat. col. 821.

[n] Rayn. 1486. 19, seqq.; 1487. 9; Giann. iv. 382, 388-9; Sism. viii. 187-8. The first executions took place only two days after the date of the treaty. Trollope, ii. 431.

[o] Infess. 1980; Rayn. 1487. 10; Murat. IX. ii. 223; Gregorov. vii. 285.

[p] Infess. 1991; Rayn. 1487. 12; 1489. 7; Panvin. 355; Sism. viii. 247.

[q] A son of this union, by marrying the heiress of the Malaspinas, got the marquisate of Massa and Carrara, which was made a dukedom by the emperor Maximilian, and remained in the Cibò family until the 18th century. Gregorov. vii. 308; Reumont, III. ii. 65.

[r] This was not an epithet peculiar to Lorenzo, but was a title commonly given to persons of distinction who had no other—ambassadors, condottieri, etc. He was not *Lorenzo il magnifico*, but *Il magnifico Lorenzo*. (Sismondi, viii. 127.) Roscoe, however, denies this.

until the boy should be old enough to take possession of his dignity; and when, at the age of sixteen, he repaired to Rome for this purpose, he was Mar. 1492. received with the pomp which was usually reserved for the visits of royal personages.[s] Through his connexion with the Medici, Innocent was brought into friendly relations with the Orsini, who had formerly been so violently opposed to him that Virginius Orsini, a brother of Clarice, had threatened to throw him into the Tiber.[t]

Innocent, like his predecessors since the fall of the eastern empire, projected a crusade against the Turks. In the beginning of his pontificate he invited all Christian princes to take part in such an expedition, and he afterwards entered into negotiations and agreements for carrying it into effect; but without any considerable result.[u] The death of Mahomet II. had been followed by a contest for the throne between his sons Bajazet and Djem; the younger brother resting his claim on the fact that he had been born after his father's accession.[x] On being defeated by his brother, Djem took refuge in Rhodes with the knights of St. John, who A.D. 1482. transferred him for safety to the care of their brethren in France.[y] Great offers were made by Bajazet to the order, in the hope of inducing them to put Djem into his hands; while the kings of France and Hungary, of Aragon and Naples, and the sultan of Egypt, contended for him, with the view of setting him at the head of an expedition against his brother.[z] But the pope

[s] Infess. 1985; Burchard, 160, 162, seqq.; Ciac. iii. 123, 140; Roscoe's Leo X. i. 18 22-3; Gregorov. vii. 300. John de' Medici was born Dec. 11, 1475. Roscoe, i. 1.

[t] Infess. 1959-60.

[u] Rayn. 1484. 61, seqq.; 1485. 1, seqq.; Wilkins, iii. 626; Schröckh, xxxii. 371.

[x] Krantz, Saxonia, 328. Mahomet II. had endeavoured to prevent such contests by decreeing that all the brothers of a new sultan should be put to death; but Djem, being at a distance when his father died, had escaped. Hammer, ii. 219-21, 253.

[y] Letters of Sixtus IV. in Rayn. 1482. 37-8; Hammer, ii. 263, 266-8. See Vertot, ii. 357, seqq.; 530, seqq.

[z] Krantz, Wandalia, 305; Comines

was successful, and Djem, after a residence of more than six years in France, was escorted by cardinal Balue to Rome, where he was received as a sovereign prince,[a] and was lodged in the Vatican palace. The master of the hospitallers, D'Aubusson, was rewarded for the surrender of his guest by being promoted to the college of cardinals.[b] At his first interview with the pope, Djem refused to perform the usual homage, and could only be persuaded to kiss him on the shoulder;[c] and throughout his residence at Rome, he was careful to maintain his pretensions to dignity.[d] Bajazet renewed his offers for the possession of his brother's person, or for his death.[e] It is said that at one time he employed an Italian to destroy both Djem and the pope by poisoning the water of which they drank;[f] at another time he sent an ambassador to offer a yearly payment of 40,000 ducats for the maintenance and safe keeping of the prince;[g] and this sum was duly paid. In order further to propitiate the pope, Bajazet presented him with a relic of extraordinary sanctity—the head of the lance which had pierced the Saviour's side. This gift was not the less valued because the sacred lance was supposed to exist also at Paris, Nuremberg, and other

March 10, 1489.

May 31, 1492.

in Petitot, xii. 392; Rayn. 1482. 77; 1485. 11; Schröckh, xxxii. 378-9; Hammer, ii. 270.

[a] Burchard, 112-17; Infess. 1986; Rayn. 1485. 12; 1488. 9, and Mansi's note; Gregorov. vii. 284-5. Balue had just been released from his long imprisonment at Loches. Martin, vii. 142.

[b] Infess. 1904-5. There is a curious story as to Bajazet's sending to D'Aubusson the right hand of St. John the Baptist. Rayn. 1484. 72-3.

[c] Burch. 121; Infess. 1987.

[d] See a remarkable description of him by Andrew Mantegna, the painter, in Reumont, III. i. 193.

[e] See Burchard, in Eccard, ii. 2053-8; Baluz. i. 517-18. The terms on which the pope and the sultan stood may be inferred from the fact that Bajazet recommended the archbishop of Arles for the cardinalate. Eccard, ii. 2058.

[f] Infess. 1994; Rayn. 1490. 6; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 231.

[g] Infess. 1998 (who gives an account of the ambassador's interview with Djem); Guicciard. 81. Gieseler has collected much information as to Djem. (II. iv. 164-6.) When the pope's death was expected, the cardinals thought it necessary to prevent the prince's escape by shutting him up in the castle of St. Angelo. Infess. 2005.

places of the west; and to this day it is revered as one of the four chief relics of St. Peter's church.[h]

While the project of a crusade against the Mussulmans of the east remained unexecuted, the last remnant of the Mahometan power in Spain was destroyed by the conquest of Granada, after a war of twelve years.[i] The exultation produced at Rome by the report of this success was unbounded. The Spanish ambassador and the Spanish cardinal Borgia exhibited bull-fights and other spectacles, and for several days distributed food and wine to all who chose to apply.[k] Jan. 1492.

Innocent VIII. died, after a short illness, on the 25th of July in the same year.[l] It is said that an attempt was made by a Jewish physician, although without the pope's consent, to prolong his life, by injecting into his veins the blood of three boys, whom their parents sold with a view to the experiment; but, although it proved fatal to the children, it was unavailing for the intended purpose.[m]

Three months before the death of Innocent, while Rome was engrossed by the reception of the young son of Lorenzo de' Medici into the college of cardinals, the festivities were interrupted by the arrival of tidings that Lorenzo himself had died at his villa of Careggi, near Florence;[n] and the circumstances April 7.

[h] Reumont, III. i. 193. For its reception, see Burchard, 179, 182-3, 185-9, 193. The sultan had the candour to inform the pope, through his ambassador, that the point (*cuspis*) of the lance was in possession of the French king. (Infess. 2005.) For the history of the relic, see Victorelli, in Ciacon. iii. 100-1. If, says this writer, Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks of several places as claiming the tomb of Æneas, and if seven cities claimed the birth of Homer, why should it be objected that the holy lance is claimed for several places? Cf. Rayn. 1492. 15-16; Acta SS., Mar. 15, p. 373.

[i] Calixtus III., in 1455, had issued a bull for the expulsion of the Moors, and there are frequent notices of the war with them in Raynaldus (*e.g.*, 1455. 39; 1457. 70; 1462. 44 (the recovery of Gibraltar); 1485. 30; 1486. 52, seqq.; 1487. 13, seqq.; 1489. 9, seqq.; 1491. 1-5; 1492. 1). See Mariana, ii. 596-7; Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, ii. 86-91.

[k] Burch. 158-9; Not. del. Nantip. 1107; Prescott, ii. 91; Gregorov. vii. 299. For the celebration in England, see Bacon, 105.

[l] Infess. 2000.

[m] Ib. 2005; Burch. 193.

[n] Ib. 171. For Machiavelli's eulo-

of his deathbed lead us to trace the earlier history of a remarkable man, who, by the power of eloquence and by his earnest zeal for religion and morality, had acquired an extraordinary influence in that city.[o]

Jerome Savonarola was born in 1452 at Ferrara, where his grandfather, a native of Padua, had settled as physician to the court.[p] It was the wish of the family that Jerome should follow the same profession; but he preferred the study of theology, philosophy, and poetry. At the age of twenty-two, he was induced by the preaching of a friar, by some visions with which he supposed himself to be favoured, and by disgust at the wickedness and disorder of the world, to enter into the Dominican order—to which he was especially inclined by his reverence for its great teacher, Thomas of Aquino.[q] To the study of Aquinas he now added that of Cassian and other ascetic writers;[r] but, above all, he devoted himself to the Holy Scriptures,[s] of which his knowledge became very great, although he appears to have carried to an excess the caprices of the allegorical system of interpretation.[t] After having spent seven years in the Dominican convent of Bologna, he was removed by his superiors to

April 1475.

A.D. 1482.

gium on Lorenzo, see the History of Florence, ii. 271-5. The extravagant partiality of Roscoe has produced a reaction in later writers.

[o] For the history of Savonarola there are the old lives by J. F. Picus of Mirandola (in Bates's Vitæ selectorum aliquot Virorum, Lond. 1681) and the Dominican Burlamacchi (in Baluz. Miscell. i.); and later biographies by Rudelbach (Hamburg, 1835), Meier (Berlin, 1836), Perrens (Paris, 1853), Heraud (?) (London, 1843), Madden (Lond. 1853), and Villari (Florence, 1859). Of these books, Villari's is by far the most elaborate and valuable. See also an admirable article by Dean Milman (Quart. Rev., June, 1856), reprinted in his 'Essays'; Book ii. of Father Marchese's 'San Marco de Firenze' (Opere, t. iii.); a lecture by the late Rev. F. Myers ('Lectures on Great Men'); and Pt. II. of Hase's 'Neue Propheten.'

[p] Picus, 108; Burlam. 531; Villari, i. 1-2.

[q] Picus, 109, 112; Burlam. 531; Villari, i. 14-16; and Docum. i.; Milman, 5-6.

[r] Picus, 111.

[s] Ib. 112.

[t] See Perrens, Pt. II. c. iii.; Villari, i. 110, 114-17, 325; Milman, 18.

St. Mark's, at Florence—a monastery which but a few years before had been governed by the saintly archbishop Antoninus,[u] while its walls were adorned by the pencil of the "angelical" painter of Fiesole.[x] But already its discipline had grievously decayed; and Savonarola, when after some years he was elected prior, found it necessary to correct by strict and searching reforms a state of luxury and worldliness altogether inconsistent with the institutions of St. Dominic.[y] July 1491.

After some unpromising efforts, and notwithstanding serious natural disqualifications, Savonarola had burst forth into unequalled power as a preacher; and the vast cathedral of Florence was crowded by multitudes who eagerly hung on his words.[z] His fervid and fluent language, his passionate gestures, his eyes glowing with enthusiasm, seemed to indicate a man possessed by the convictions which he expressed, and authorized to speak in the name of God.[a] The chief aim of his preaching was to rouse men from the chill indifference to spiritual things which marked the character of the age, and was especially conspicuous amidst the material prosperity and the literary and artistic culture of the Florentines.[b] He denounced the sins of all classes, including the prelates and clergy—as to whom he declared that the church had once had golden priests and wooden chalices, but that now the chalices were of gold and the priests were wooden—that the outward splendour of religion had been hurtful to spirituality.[c] He was fond of expounding

[u] For the reform by which it had been made over to the Dominicans, see Antonin. 526; Marchese, iii. 37-41; and for Fra Angelico's works, ib. i. 247, seqq.

[x] Villari, i. 33. For St. Antoninus, see Æn. Sylv. Comment. 90; Acta SS., May 2 (although Butler and others place him on the 10th). He died in

[y] Villari, i. 121, 150-2.

[z] Picus, 112; Burlam. 533; Perrens, t. i. 20, 41-2, and Pt. II. c. ii.; Villari i. 28-9, 68, 118, 123; Milman, 10. In order to accommodate the audience, seats were erected, rising one above another, as in a theatre. Nardi, i. 83-4.

[a] Pic. 116; Burlam. 539; Vill. i. 118.

[b] Burlam. 549; Villari, i. 74.

[c] Villari, i. 169-70.

the Apocalypse, and confidently foretold chastisements as being near at hand. According to words revealed to him in a vision, the sword of the Lord was to come on the earth speedily and swiftly.[d] A new Cyrus was to descend on Italy from beyond the Alps;[e] the church was to be scourged and was to be renewed.[f] In part, these prophecies did not pretend to be more than the result of a firm belief in a Divine government of the world, carried on according to the principles declared in the Holy Scriptures—a conviction that, as offences had been committed, the threatened punishments would surely ensue; and as to this, Savonarola's error consisted in assuming too certainly the time when the punishment was to come.[g] But in part his utterances claimed a higher source; for from an early stage of his monastic life he had supposed himself to be favoured with visions and revelations, communicated to his mind by angels,[h] and commissioned to announce the designs of God to men. As some of his predictions were fulfilled, the general belief in him increased;[i] his followers spoke of him as "the prophet";[k] and by means of the press his writings and his fame were carried not only throughout Italy, but far beyond its borders.[l] There were stories as

[d] "Ecce gladius Domini super terram cito et velociter." Burlam. 534.

[e] Ib. 544; Nauclerus, 1118.

[f] See his 'Compendium Revelationum,' and his defence of the Compendium against Samuel of Monte Cassino (Strasburg, 1615); Picus, 213-14; Burlam. 533-4; Perrens, i. 29-31; Villari, i. 76-82; Giesel. II. iv. 470. Even before entering into the monastic state, he had published a tract to this effect. Vill. i. 16-17, and Doc. ii.

[g] Perrens, ii. 70-1; Villari, i. 298-9, and Doc. pp. 272, 284.

[h] Picus, 115; Burlam. 534-5; Guicc. 104; Villari, i. 70-2, 143, 295; Perrens, i. 192, and the concluding chapter; Hase, 129; Milman, 34-7. Rudelbach seems to make too little of this. 308, seqq.

[i] Nardi, i. 60, 97. *E.g.*, As to the deaths of the pope, the French king, and Lorenzo de' Medici. (Picus, 114.) Yet these, as has been remarked, were predictions which might safely be hazarded without any supernatural revelation. See for his most remarkable predictions, Perrens, Pt. II. c. v.; as to his failures, Bayle, art. *Savonarole*, n. e.

[k] See, *e.g.*, Benedetto, "Vulnera Diligentis" in Villari, Doc. xlvii.-ix.; Guicc. 104.

[l] Picus, 125-7; Villari, i. 119, 140,

to his being rapt from his senses while praying; that his face had been seen to shine with a celestial light; that he had contests with evil spirits.[m]

To the family of Medici, Savonarola was inflexibly hostile. Himself a zealous republican, he regarded them as usurpers of the liberty of Florence;[n] and he viewed with disgust and indignation the gross licentiousness and the pagan tendencies which were combined in Lorenzo with refinement of manners and high culture of tastes for literature and art.[o] He refused to pay some marks of respect by which the priors of St. Mark's had been accustomed to acknowledge the favours bestowed on their house by the Medicean family. The attempts of Lorenzo to alarm or to conciliate him were vain;[p] but when at length the magnifico felt the approach of death, and when, amidst the terrors of his aroused conscience, he found himself unable to trust the spiritual counsels of his chaplains, he eagerly requested a visit from the friar who, alone of all the clergy, had spoken to him with unflattering frankness. He professed especial remorse for three things—the cruelties committed in the sack of Volterra;[q] his interference with the funds of a bank instituted for the benefit of young women,[r] of whom many had in consequence of his acts been driven to a life of vice; and the bloodshed which had taken place on account of the Pazzian conspiracy.[s] To his request for absolution Savonarola replied by assurances of the Divine

174-5; Gregorov. vii. 417. It is said that even the Grand Turk ordered some of his sermons to be translated, in order to become acquainted with them (Burlam. 54). But this was later.

[m] Picus, 123-4; Burlam. 533. See Savonarola's 'Compendium Revelationum.'

[n] Picus, 114-15.

[o] Marchese, iii. 127; Vill. i. 38, seqq. As to the character of Lorenzo, see ib., pp. 43-4; Perkins, Tuscan Sculpture, ii. 5.

[p] Milman, 19-20; Burlam. 535; Perrens, i. 57-8; Villari, i. 118, 120-1. For Cosmo's munificence to St. Mark's, see Vespas. in Mai, i. 332.

[q] See Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 168; Trollope, iii. 299; and above, p. 215, n. [8].

[r] The "Monte delle Fanciulle."

[s] Burlam. 537; Villari, i. 135-6.

mercy and goodness; but it is said that he in his turn required of the penitent three things—that he should have a living faith in God's will and power to forgive; that he should restore all he had unjustly taken; and that he should re-establish the republican liberties of Florence. As to the first of these conditions, Lorenzo made the required profession; and to the second he consented, although with some reluctance. But when Savonarola, rising from his seat, enounced the last demand with the sternness of a prophet, the dying man, gathering up his remaining strength, turned his back on the friar; and Savonarola left him unabsolved.[t]

CHAPTER V.

ALEXANDER THE SIXTH.

A.D. 1492-1503.

The death of Innocent was followed by disturbances such as had become usual during a vacancy of the popedom. The whole country around Rome was in arms;[a] within the city itself it is said that two hundred and twenty persons were slain.[b] The cardinals met for the election of a successor in the Sixtine chapel on the 6th of August. The practice of intrigue had been common

[t] Picus, 115; Burlam. 537 (who says that Savonarola believed that if he had had an opportunity of conversing longer with Lorenzo, his efforts to bring him to a better mind would have been successful). As Politian and others represent Lorenzo's death as peaceful, the account given by Savonarola's friends has been much questioned, as by Rudelbach, 84; Perrens, i. 59-63; Milman, 21-2; Harford, 'Life of M. Angelo,' i. 144. Hase thinks it the most likely story; and in defence of it see Marchese, iii. 135; Villari, i. 155-9. Mr. Madden tries to harmonize the accounts, i. 156-7; and, in truth, the question seems to be whether one of them must be held to exclude the other.

[a] M. Sanuto, in Murat. xxiv. 1249.

[b] Burch. 193-4, 213, ed. Gennarelli; Infessura, 2009.

on such occasions; but the manner in which members of the college now put themselves forward as candidates was without example.[c] Among these the most prominent were Roderick Borgia, whose seniority, wealth, and frequent employment in the most important business of the church, gave weight to his pretensions; Ascanius Sforza, son of the great condottiere who had founded a new dynasty in the dukedom of Milan; and Julian della Rovere, the nephew of Sixtus IV.[d] Although experience had amply proved the inefficacy of capitulations, an attempt was once more made to bind the future pope by engagements of this kind; among other things, he was required to promise that he would not make any cardinals without the consent of the existing members of the body.

The conclave was of unusual duration. Much bribery was practised. Sforza, after having ascertained that his own chance of election was little or none, transferred his interest to Borgia; and it is said that all the cardinals, except della Rovere, Piccolomini, and three others, were bought by the promise of money or preferments.[e] At length, on the fifth night, the deliberations of the cardinals resulted in the election of Borgia, who exclaimed "I am pope, pontiff, and vicar of Christ!" and hastily put on the papal mantle, as if to assure himself of the reality of his success.[f] The name which he took was Alexander VI.

Within a few days, Sforza, according to compact, received the office of vice-chancellor, which Borgia had held, together with his palace,[g] and some churches and castles; while the preferments accumulated on other members of the college attested the value of their support,

[c] Gregorov. vii. 308-9.
[d] Ib. 309; Schröckh, xxxii. 385; Reumont, II. i. 199.
[e] Infess. 2009; Guicciard. 6.
[f] Gregorov. vii. 311.
[g] Now called Cesarini.

and the means by which it had been secured.[h] But the consciousness of having attained his dignity by arts which might have vitiated the election—the dread of any inquiry, by a general council or any other tribunal, into the circumstances of his elevation—hung as a weight on the pope all his days, and affected his course of conduct.[i]

Roderick Borgia (whose change of surname has been already mentioned)[k] was born in 1431 at Valencia, of a family belonging to the lower grade of nobles. He had studied at Bologna, and in early life had been an advocate and also a soldier. To his uncle Calixtus III. he was indebted for rapid ecclesiastical promotion; he became cardinal,[l] archbishop of his native city, vice-chancellor of the Roman church; and his support of Sixtus IV. at his election had procured for him the abbacy of Subiaco.[m] By these preferments, and by inheritance from Calixtus, he had become very wealthy; and a mission as legate to Spain, for the purpose of gathering money for the crusade, had considerably increased his riches, although it had not improved his reputation.[n] He was more esteemed for eloquence than for learning, but was especially noted for the craft, the perseverance, and the fertility of resources which marked his character as a negotiator.[o] Fond as he

[h] Infess. 2008; Guicciard. 6; Burch. 205-12; Panvin. 357; Gregorov. vii. 310.

[i] See the North British Review, Jan. 1871.

[k] P. 163; Panvin. 357.

[l] He was at first cardinal of St. Nicolas in Carcere, and was promoted by Sixtus to the episcopal cardinalates of Albano and Porto. Panvin. 357.

[m] Gregorov. vii. 233, 313. Sixtus also nominated him to the archbishoprick of Seville, but was baffled by the opposition of king Ferdinand. Mariana, ii. 559.

[n] See Mariana, ii. 478-9, who takes occasion to give a very unfavourable account of the Spanish clergy, as being ignorant, sensual, simoniacal, etc.; also Rayn. 1472. 22; 1473. 18-19. On his return, Borgia was nearly shipwrecked. Vita Sixti IV. in Murat. III. ii. 1060.

[o] "Vir est ingenii ad quæcumque versatilis, et animi magni; sermo ei promtus est, et in mediocri litteratura valde compositus; natura est callidus, sed ante omnia miræ ad res tractandas industriæ. Claret mirum in modum opibus," etc. (Jac. Volaterr. in Murat.

was of pleasure, he never allowed the pursuit of it to interfere with business, to which he often devoted a large part of the night.[p] And, although he hesitated at no crime for the attainment of his objects, he is praised for the placability of his disposition, and for the patience with which he overcame the enmity of opponents.[q]

In the earlier years of his ecclesiastical life, Borgia made great professions of piety and charity, visiting churches and hospitals, and distinguishing himself by the largeness of his almsgiving.[r] One of the first indications of the qualities for which he afterwards became infamous is found in a letter of severe reproof which Pius II., while sojourning at the baths of Petrioli after the council of Mantua, addressed to him on account of his having witnessed, if he did not even join in, some dancing which is described as indecent, in a garden at Siena.[s] At a later time—probably about 1470 —he entered into a connexion with a woman named Vanozza de' Catanei, whom he regarded as a sort of wife, while he provided her with two husbands in succession, and found places for these men in some of the government offices.[t] By Vanozza he became the father of five

A.D. 1460.

xxiii. 130; cf. Guicc. 6.) Alexander's utter faithlessness, which was such that even his oath could not be trusted, and his success, are celebrated by Machiavelli (Principe, c. 18). Mr. Gregorovius rates his abilities much lower than has been usual. vii. 500.

[p] Raph. Volat. 825; Panvin. 362.

[q] Raph. Volat. 824-5.

[r] Gordon's Lives of Alex. and Cæsar Borgia, 6. (Lond. 1729.)

[s] "Cum in hortis dilecti filii Joannis de Bichio convenissent fœminæ plures ad sæcularem vanitatem compositæ . . . saltatum ibi est, ut accepimus, cum omni licentia; nullis illecebris amatoriis parsum, tuque etiam inter hæc omnia non secus versatus, quam si unus esses ex sæcularium juvenum turba" (Rayn. 1460. 31). Gaspar of Verona writes of him in his earlier time, "Qui mulieres egregias visas ad se amandum gratior allicit et mirum in modum concitat, plusquam magnes ferrum; quas tamen intactas dimittere sane putatur." Mansi, in Rayn. xi. 415.

[t] Gregorov. vii. 315. According to some writers, Vanozza was the daughter of a Roman woman with whom in her widowhood he had before cohabited in Spain (Schröckh, xxxii. 383); but this seems to be groundless. Vanozza herself was possessed of some independent property, and appears to have become devout and beneficent after Alexander's death. She is buried in Sta. Maria del Popolo. Gregorov. l. c. · Reu-

children, of whom three sons and a daughter were alive at the time of his elevation to the papacy. Yet it would seem that thus far Borgia's laxity of morals had not in any remarkable degree exceeded such licence as the age allowed. His palace had not, like those of some other cardinals, been notoriously defiled by scandalous revels; nor was it until he had been raised to the most sacred office in Christendom that his infamy became conspicuous and signal.[u]

The report of Alexander's election excited various feelings. By some of the Romans, who looked to his dignified presence, his wealth, his expensive tastes, and who expected a splendid pontificate, the tidings were received with joy, and he was extolled in verses to which his later life gives the character of the bitterest satire.[x] But those who saw further into his character—among them the sovereigns of his native Spain[y]—regarded his promotion with alarm; and Ferdinand of Naples, who, notwithstanding his treachery, cruelty, and other vices,[z] was regarded as the wisest statesman of the age, is said to have shown his knowledge of Alexander by bursting into tears.[a]

The spirit of secular ambition, and the undisguised licentiousness, which had been more and more displayed during the late pontificates, were now carried to a monstrous excess. For the first time the bastards of a pope were brought forward as his acknowledged children;[b] and the violence of his affection for them carried him into

mont, III. ii. 204 (who gives her epitaph, p. 838.)

[u] Ib.; Gregorov. vii. 312-13.

[x] *E.g.*:—

"Qui prudens, justus, constans, pius atque modestus,
Pro meritis tanto culmine dignus erat."

Burch. 219; cf. Gregorov. vii. 318, 320; North. Brit. Rev., Jan. 1871, p. 353.

[y] P. Martyr, quoted by Prescott, ii. 241.

[z] See Comines, iii. 59 60; Guicciard. 3, 35.

[a] Ib. 6; Giannone, iv. 394. Gregorovius questions this, vii. 321; cf. 329.

[b] Guicc. 13. It will be seen that Innocent VIII. had not gone so far in this direction. (See p. 227, n. [t].)

crimes of many sorts, tempted him to disturb the peace of the world, to make Italy, which for many years had enjoyed a tranquil prosperity such as had never before been known,[c] a scene of violence and bloodshed, and to invite the fatal interference of foreign nations in her affairs.

For his eldest son, Peter Lewis, who died before Alexander's elevation to the papacy, he had obtained from the king of Spain the title of duke of Gandia, which passed to the next brother, John.[d] The third son, Cæsar, was designed for the ecclesiastical profession, and was a student at Pisa, when a courier announced to him his father's elevation to the papacy. On receiving the news, Cæsar at once set out for Rome, where the pope received him with affection, but is said to have addressed to him a formal speech, in which, after adverting to the discredit which the first Borgia pope had incurred by his nepotism, he warned him that he must expect no promotion except such as his merits should justify.[e] The hypocrisy of such a declaration was forthwith shown by Alexander's promoting, in his first consistory, a nephew to be archbishop of Monreale and cardinal;[f] and three other Borgias, besides Cæsar, were afterwards raised to the cardinalate, while other relations of the pope were thrust into all manner of offices and preferments.[g] On Cæsar himself his father at once bestowed the bishoprick of Pampeluna (which Innocent had designed for him),[h] and to this he added, on the day of his coronation, his own archbishoprick of Valencia.[i] In the following

Sept. 20.

[c] Guicc. 2.

[d] Reumont, III. i. 204, and his genealogical table of the Borgias. (See Gregorov. vii. 323.)

[e] Gordon, 15-18. This is questionable. See Schröckh, xxii. 388-9.

[f] Panvin. 358.

[g] Gregorov. vii. 534. At his first creation of cardinals, seven only of the college consented. Infess. 2015.

[h] Ib. Innocent gave the see to Cæsar at the age of seventeen, with the condition that he should not enter on the pastoral charge of it until his twenty-seventh year. Burch. 148.

[i] Gregorov. vii. 323.

year, he made him a cardinal; and as illegitimacy would have been a bar to such a promotion, the pope suborned false witnesses to swear that Cæsar was the lawful offspring of Vanozza by her first husband.[k]

May 1493.

The pope's daughter, the beautiful Lucretia, who was in her fifteenth year, had been some time betrothed to a son of the count of Aversa; but Alexander, whose ambition had risen with his fortunes, now bribed him to sue for a dissolution of the engagement, in order that Lucretia might marry a suitor of more powerful connexions—Alexander Sforza, illegitimate son of the lord of Pesaro, and great-nephew of the first duke Sforza of Milan.[l] The marriage was celebrated in the Belvedere, which had been added to the Vatican by Innocent VIII.;[m] and it was followed by a banquet, at which cardinals and other high ecclesiastical dignitaries sat promiscuously with ladies, and by the performance of comedies and other amusements, which lasted far into the night.[n] Among the party was Julia Farnese, known as "la Bella," a married woman, for whose sake Alexander made her brother a cardinal;[o] and the chronicler who describes the scene speaks indignantly of the effect which the examples of Innocent and Alexander had produced on the morals of the clergy, and even of the monastic orders.[p]

June 12, 1493.

For his youngest son, Geoffrey, the pope planned a

[k] Guicc. 36; Mariana, ii. 604: Giesel. II. iv. 168. Allegretto Allegretti, a Sienese chronicler, says that when the promotion of Cæsar was proposed, the cardinals in disgust rose up and walked away, "senza dir altro." Murat. xxiii. 827.

[l] Infess. 2011; Gregorov. vii. 331.

[m] Infess. 2008.

[n] Infessura styles the plays "lascivæ," and intimates that he could say more than he is willing to say. 2012.

[o] See Ciac. iii. 182, 531 seqq. This cardinal afterwards became pope Paul III. Alexander had his mistress Julia painted by Pinturicchio as the Madonna, with her child, and himself on his knees before her! (Infess. 2015; Vasari, v. 269.) Mr. Dennistoun questions the truth of this, supposing Vasari to be the only authority for it, but speaks of a picture of Alexander on his knees before the ascending Redeemer as objectionable. 'Dukes of Urbino,' ii. 159.

[p] Infess. 2011.

marriage with a daughter of Alfonso, duke of Calabria. The duke's father, king Ferdinand, was willing to consent to this marriage, but Alfonso himself was strongly opposed to it; and by this disappointment the pope was thrown into other connexions, which were full of disaster for Italy.[q]

Lewis Sforza, who from his swarthy complexion was styled the Moor, a man of deep ambition and perfidy,[r] administered the government of Milan in the name of his nephew, John Galeazzo, whom it is said that, for the sake of retaining power in his own hands, he allowed to grow up without any such training as might have fitted him for the duties of his position.[s] Lewis projected a national league of the Italian powers, for the purpose of preserving their country from foreign rule, and endeavoured to gain the pope's co-operation;[t] but, finding that a special alliance had been concluded between Alexander, the king of Naples, and the Florentine republic, he was led by jealousy to invite Charles VIII. of France into Italy, for the purpose of asserting a claim to the Neapolitan crown, which had been bequeathed by the last count of Provence to Lewis XI.; and the conquest of Naples was represented as a step towards the recovery of Constantinople and Jerusalem from the infidels.[u] The proposal was well fitted to attract the young king, who, although weak, sickly, and almost deformed in person, and yet more feeble in mind, had his imagination filled with visions of chivalrous and crusading exploits and renown.[x] His wisest counsellors—such as his sister, the lady of Beaujeu,[y] and Philip de Comines—endeavoured

[q] Guicc. 13.
[r] Ib. 184, 304.
[s] Sism. viii. 309.
[t] Schröckh, xxxii. 394; Sism. viii. 305; Martin. vii. 249.
[u] Comines, iii. 16, 34; Guicc. 15, 18-21; Fr. Carpesan. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 1204; P. Jovius, i. 12; Giann. iv. 435-7; Mariana, ii. 613; Gibbon, Misc. Works, 398, seqq.
[x] Guicc. 55; Sism. R. I. viii. 312; Hist. d. Fr xiv. 634; Reumont, III. i. 210, from the relation of the Venetian ambassador Contarini.
[y] See p. 224.

to dissuade him from undertaking an expedition into Italy, and urged him to accept the offers made by Ferdinand of Naples to hold the kingdom as tributary to the crown of France.[z] But Charles listened to advisers of another kind—to Neapolitan exiles who were eager for vengeance on the Aragonese dynasty, and to his kinsman Lewis, duke of Orleans, who wished to use the king's ambition for the furtherance of his own designs on Italy.[a] He dismissed the Neapolitan ambassadors,[b] and prepared for an expedition to Italy by making peace, on disadvantageous terms, with the kings of England and of Spain, and with Maximilian, who had lately succeeded his father Frederick as emperor.[c]

The expectation of a French invasion brought about a connexion between the reigning dynasty of Naples and the pope. It was arranged that the youngest Borgia, Geoffrey, who was only twelve or thirteen years of age, should marry Sancha, an illegitimate daughter of the duke of Calabria; that he should receive the principality of Squillace, with other territory, and should be appointed lieutenant of the kingdom; that the duke of Gandia should be nominated to one of the chief offices, and that Cæsar Borgia should receive high ecclesiastical preferment at Naples; while, on the other hand, the tribute payable by the Neapolitan crown to the papacy was to be reduced.[d] Ferdinand died on the 25th of January, 1494, and it is believed that his death was hastened by the French king's re-

[z] Comines, iii. 27, 64; Guicc. 21-2.

[a] Ib. 23-5; Martin, vii. 251.

[b] Guicc. 34.

[c] Comines, iii. 20; Sism. viii. 316; Prescott, ii. 246-50; Pauli, v. 598. Frederick died on Aug. 9, 1493, after a reign of 54 years. (Schmidt, iv. 343.) Maximilian had been elected and crowned as king of the Romans in 1486. (Molinet, in Buchon, iii. 17-40, 54-70.) He was never crowned as emperor; but Julius II. allowed him to style himself "imperator electus," and his successors, without being crowned by the pope, omitted the *electus*. (Gregorov. vii. 342.) See below, ch. vi.

[d] Burchard, 306, 311, ed. Gennarelli; 2069, ed. Eccard; Guicciard. 28, 36; Rayn. 1494. 3, seqq.; Gregorov. vii. 337, 345; Schröckh, xxxii. 398.

jection of his offers.[e] His successor, Alfonso, who was eminent as a general, but was even more treacherous and cruel than his father, was crowned by the cardinal archbishop of Monreale, and the marriage of Geoffrey Borgia with Sancha was celebrated at the same time.[f] In their alarm, Alfonso and the pope applied for assistance to the Turkish sultan, whom they endeavoured to move by representing that the French king avowedly looked on Naples as only a stepping-stone towards Constantinople; but they failed to obtain any effective assistance.[g] To ambassadors who urged the claim of Charles to Naples, Alexander replied that the kingdom was a fief of the holy see, and could be disposed of only by the pope; that the Aragonese princes had been invested in it, and that he could not dispossess them unless another claim could be shown to be stronger than theirs. And he threatened to pronounce the censures of the church if Charles should cross the Alps.[h]

Charles had advanced as far as Lyons, where he remained a considerable time, engaged in tournaments and in voluptuous enjoyments.[i] It was still uncertain whether the expedition to Italy were to take place, when the king's vacillating mind was determined by the arrival of cardinal Julian della Rovere, the implacable enemy of Alexander.[k] After the election of the pope, Julian had withdrawn to the fortress of Ostia, where he was besieged and at length driven out.[l] Alexander had attempted to conciliate him; but Julian declared that he would never again trust a Catalan; and,

June 1.

[e] Comines, iii. 69; Guicc. 34. Burchard says that he died "sine lux, sine crux, sine Deus." 272, ed. Gennar.

[f] Burchard, 283 (who was sent to Naples for the occasion, as master of the ceremonies); Infess. 2016; Rayn. 1494. 15.

[g] Giann. iv. 439.

[h] Guicc. 38; Schröckh, xxxii. 400.

[i] Guicc. 37; M. Sanuto (?), 31. [The authorship of this work is doubtful.]

[k] Sism. viii. 333-5; Gregorov. vii. 344.

[l] Burch. 216; Gregorov. vii. 326.

from having been the most zealous partisan of Naples in the college of cardinals, he transferred himself to the French interest in consequence of the pope's having entered into a connexion with Alfonso.[m] Arriving at Lyons when the king's plans were altogether uncertain, his strong and impetuous eloquence, and the freedom with which he represented the disgrace of abandoning the enterprise, determined Charles to proceed; and in the end of August the king crossed the Alps at the head of a gallant, although undisciplined army.[n] The money which he had raised, including a large loan from his Milanese ally, had been spent on the gaieties of Lyons, and on a fleet which was not turned to any account; and already his difficulties were such that he borrowed jewels from the duchess of Savoy and the marchioness of Montferrat, in order that he might procure money by pledging them.[o]

After a stay of some weeks at Asti, which belonged to the duke of Orleans, Charles moved onwards.[p] At Milan he saw the young duke, John Galeazzo; but[q] this unfortunate prince died almost immediately afterwards, and, although he left a son five years old, Louis the Moor, who was suspected of having caused his nephew's death, assumed the ducal title.[r] As Charles approached Florence, Peter de' Medici, who had conceived the idea of imitating his father Lorenzo's venturous and successful visit to Naples,[s] appeared in the French camp, and, although others had been joined with him in the mission, he took it on himself to conclude a treaty by which four of the strongest places belonging to the republic were given up to France. Peter, who had been

Oct. 20.

[m] Guicc. 36; Gregorov. vii. 327, 337, 344. Guicciardini styles him, "fatale instrumento e allora e prima, e poi, de' mali d'Italia." 53.

[n] Ib. 53-4; P. Jovius, i. 25; Sism. viii. 342-4.

[o] Comines, iii. 26, 28; Guicc. 52; Sism. viii. 345.

[p] Guicc. 57; Comines, iii. 35.

[q] Ib. 36.

[r] Ib. 38; Guicc. 62-3. Mariana says that there were clear signs of poison. ii. 696.

[s] Nardi, i. 31. See above, p. 217.

only twenty-one years old at the time of his father's death, had already made himself obnoxious to the Florentines by his incapacity, his frivolity, his pride, his irregularities, and other faults; and the result of his negotiations with Charles exasperated them to such a degree that, on his return to the city, he and his brothers were driven into exile.[t] The eloquence of Savonarola, who spoke of the "new Cyrus" as an instrument of Divine vengeance for the sins of the Italians, instead of rousing the citizens to resistance, tended to persuade them to submission.[u] He reminded them that the sword which he had foretold had now actually come on them.[x] After the expulsion of the Medici, the friar was sent at the head of an embassy which was received by Charles at Pisa. In the solemn tone of a prophet, he told the king that he must regard himself as an instrument in God's hand; that if he should forget his calling—if he should neglect to labour for the reform of the church, and to respect the liberties and the honour of the Florentines—another would be chosen in his stead.[y] Charles answered with courtesy, although in a way which showed that he did not apprehend the peculiarity of Savonarola's character and position;[z] but during his stay at Florence (where the citizens, who had agreed to admit him peaceably, were deeply offended by his entering with his lance on his thigh, as if assuming the character of a conqueror) the friar's admonitions were repeatedly administered to him.[a]

In the meantime Alexander was distracted by a variety of fears. In vain he entreated Maximilian to intervene

[t] Comines, iii. 41-2, 47; Guicc. 66-70; Nardi, i. 23, 36-9; M. Sanuto (?) in Murat. xxiv. 9; Raph. Volat. 180; Allegr. Allegr. ib. xxiii. 833; P. Jovius, i. 32-3; Vita Leonis, 16; Sism. viii. 350-1.

[u] Perrens, ii. 92, seqq.; Villari, i. 141-2, 185.

[x] Perrens, i. 101.

[y] Compend. Revel. fol. 7; Picus, 115; Burlam. 545; Villari, i. 209; Rudelb. 103.

[z] Sism. viii. 358; Perrens, i. 109.

[a] Guicc. 73; Burlam. 545-6; Nardi, i. 48; Perrens, i. 112; Villari, i. 214, seqq., 224.

as advocate of the church.[b] He was alarmed by hearing that the Colonnas had openly declared for the French, and entertained designs of seizing him; that the Orsini, on whose support he had relied, had submitted to the invader; that the trading classes of his city were not disposed to stand by him; that the French were devastating everywhere, and that his concubine, Julia Farnese, had fallen into their hands.[c] Cardinal Piccolomini and others whom he sent to Charles, returned without having been able to obtain an audience.[d] He arrested the cardinals who were in favour of France, and even the French ambassadors; and almost immediately after he released them again.[e] He spoke of leaving Rome, but was unable to carry out any resolution.[f] He invited Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, to occupy the city with Neapolitan troops.[g] But when Charles asked for leave to pass through Rome, in order to the crusade (for nothing was said of his designs on Naples), Alexander felt that he could make no effective opposition; and by his request the duke of Calabria withdrew, although with undisguised indignation, along the Appian way at the same time that the French made their entrance at the Flaminian gate.[h] As at Florence, Charles affected to enter as a conqueror, by carrying his lance rested on his thigh. On his right and on his left rode the cardinals Julian della Rovere, Sforza, Colonna, and Savelli; and the multitude raised loud shouts in honour of France, Colonna, and the cardinal of St. Peter *ad Vincula*. It was night before the greater part of the troops could

Dec. 9.

Dec. 31.

[b] Gregorov. vii. 359.

[c] Guicc. 59, 77-8; Comines, iii. 53-4; P. Jovius, ii. 18; Fr. Carpesan. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 1206; Gregorov. vii. 361-4.

[d] Alex. in Rayn. 1495. 16; Fr. Carpes. 1207; Guicc. 69 Allegr. Allegr. in Murat. xxiii. 833.

[e] M. Sanuto in Murat. xxiv. 10; Guicc. 78; Allegr. Allegr. 836; Rayn. 1494. 5.

[f] Guicc. 78.

[g] M. Sanuto, in Mur. xxiv. 10.

[h] Guicc. 80; Giann. iv. 440; Gregorov. vii. 358, 364-5; Reumont, III. i. 214-16.

enter; and the gleam of torches and of lights from the windows heightened the impression made by their arms, their horses, and a train of artillery which far exceeded all that the Italians had yet beheld of its kind.[i]

Alexander, a few days after the king's arrival, withdrew into the castle of St. Angelo, from which he uneasily watched the lights and the sounds on the other side of the Tiber. He knew that importunities were addressed to Charles by eighteen cardinals for the assembling of a general council in order to his deposition; and he felt that neither the manner of his election nor his personal character could endure the examination of such an assembly.[k] He was repeatedly urged by Charles to give up the fortress as a pledge; but he declared that he would rather place himself on the battlements, with the holy eucharist and the heads of the two great apostles in his hands,[l] and would abide the effect of an attack. The French, in their impatience at his obstinacy, twice pointed their cannon against St. Angelo; but a party among the king's advisers, which had been drawn into the pope's interest by the promise of ecclesiastical dignities, was able to prevent any practical acts of hostility.[m] During his stay at Rome, Charles daily visited some church, to hear mass and to inspect the sacred relics;[n] and the Romans looked on with astonishment when he touched for the king's evil in the church of St. Petronilla.[o] But his soldiers, notwithstanding a solemn engagement to refrain from all violence, freely indulged their insolence and their love of spoil: even

Jan. 6.

[i] Burch. in Eccard, ii. 2053; P. Jovius, i. 41-2; Fr. Carpes. 1207; Panvin. 358; Gregorov. vii. 366-7.

[k] Comines, iii. 57, 67-8; Guicc. 79, 80; Gregorov. vii. 356. It is said by Paul III. that an instrument of deposition was actually drawn up. (North British Rev., Jan. 1871, p. 355.)

[l] Malipieri, 331 (Archivio Stor. Ital. vii.); Gregorov. vii. 371.

[m] Comines, iii. 68; Guicc. 81; Gregorov. vii. 370.

[n] Ib. 372.

[o] Ib. 374.

Vanozza's house was plundered, to Alexander's great anger and disgust.[p]

A treaty was concluded, by which the pope was to put certain fortified towns into the hands of the French until the conquest of Naples should have been achieved. He was also to make over to them for six months the Turkish prince Djem, with a view to the proposed crusade; and he was to extend an amnesty to the cardinals and others who had offended him by taking part with France.[q] After the conclusion of this agreement, Charles was more than once received at the Vatican, to which the pope had returned;[r] and Briçonnet, bishop of St. Malo, one of his favourite counsellors, was promoted to the dignity of cardinal.[s] The same honour was conferred on Peter of Luxemburg, bishop of Le Mans.[t]

Jan. 15, 1495.

On the 28th of January the king left Rome, taking with him the Turkish prince, and accompanied by Cæsar Borgia, who was decorated with the title of legate, but was really intended to serve as a hostage for the performance of his father's promises.[u] Cæsar, however, on the second night of the march absconded from Velletri in the dress of a groom,[x] so that the security which his presence had given was lost.

At Naples the approach of the French produced an outbreak against the reigning dynasty. Alfonso, knowing that, both for his father's sake and for his own, he was execrated by his subjects, and that by his atrocious

[p] Burch. 2060; P. Jovius, i. 42; Nauclerus, 1012; Gregorov. vii. 371; Reumont III. i. 218.

[q] Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 265; Comines, iii. 69; Guicc. 81; Burch. 2061, 2065; P. Jovius, i. 43; Gregorov. vii. 373-4.

[r] Jan. 16. Molinet, ed. Buchon, v. 30; Reumont, III. i. 219.

[s] Burch. 2061-3; Comines, iii. 70.

[t] Guicc. 81-2. It would seem that these promotions were not made at the same time. Ciac. iii. 182-4.

[u] Guicc. 81-3.

[x] Burch. 2065; Guicc. 83; Allegr. Allegr. 836-9; M. Sanuto, in Murat. xxiv. 12.

cruelties and his detestable vices he had well deserved their abhorrence,[y] resigned the crown in favour of his son Ferdinand,[z] and withdrew to a Sicilian monastery, where he engaged in penitential exercises, and soon after died.[a] The new king, finding himself unable, with a disheartened and mutinous soldiery and a disaffected people, to make head against the invader, retired to the island of Ischia; and on the following day Charles entered Naples unopposed, and was received with joyful demonstrations of welcome.[b] Feb. 21.

But the popular feeling in favour of the French was soon changed into detestation. The strangers abused their fortune. They treated the Neapolitans with contempt and outrage. All offices were bestowed on foreigners, and sometimes two or three were accumulated on one person; even private property was invaded to gratify the rapacity of Frenchmen; and Charles avowed an intention of reducing the barons of the kingdom from their comparative independence to a like state of subordination with the nobility of France. He neglected business; to his new subjects he was inaccessible; and those who had steadily adhered to the Angevine interest were disgusted at finding that their past fidelity and sufferings did not exempt them from being confounded with the partisans of the expelled dynasty.[c]

[y] "Nul homme n'a esté plus cruel que luy, ne plus mauvais, ne plus vicieux et plus infect, ne plus gourmand que luy." (Comines, iii. 59.) A Venetian chronicler, whom Muratori conjectures to be Marin Sanuto, says of Alfonso and his father, "Credo che Nerone fusse santo appresso di questi tiranni." Murat. xxiv. 14; cf. 12; P. Jovius, i. 49. etc.; Guicc. 82-3.

[z] Allegr. Allegr. 839, 841 (who says that Alfonso was supposed to be mad); Comines, iii. 64; Burch. 2065; Mariana, ii. 619; Sism. ix. 19-22. It was reported that his father's ghost had sent him warning that the family was to be extinguished for its crimes. Guicc. 83.

[a] "Selon sa grande pénitence il est à espérer que son âme est glorieuse en Paradis." Comines, iii. 66; cf. Guicc. 146; Giann. iv. 442.

[b] Comines, iii. 72-3; Guicc. 84-90; Fr. Carpes. 1208-11; M. Sanut. in Murat xxiv. 13-14; Giann. iv. 443-4.

[c] Guicc. 112; M. Sanut. in Murat. xxiv. 19; Comines, iii. 76; P. Jovius, i. 55; Giann. iv. 447; Sism. ix. 75.

The young French nobles, after the king's example, gave themselves up freely to pleasure; the mass of the army, in consequence of their indulgences, were enervated by a new and loathsome disease;[d] the project of a crusade, which had been used to sanctify the invasion of Italy, was utterly forgotten.[e] At Naples, Djem died on the 26th of February; and his death was attributed, not only by popular opinion, but by Charles himself, to a slow poison, administered (as was supposed) by the pope, who had corresponded with Bajazet as to the means of removing the unfortunate prince, and reaped the benefit of the imputed crime by receiving 300,000 ducats for his body.[f]

While Charles was lingering in hurtful inaction at Naples, dangers were gathering behind him. Lewis Sforza, alarmed by finding that the duke of Orleans had asserted a claim to Milan, as being the sole legitimate descendant of the Visconti,[g] and that in this he was countenanced by the French king, concluded at Venice a league with the pope, the emperor, the sovereigns of Spain, and the Venetian republic, which, although professedly intended for defence against the Turks, had evidently a further meaning.[h] Charles, on receiving from his envoy at Venice, Philip de Comines,

March 31.

The narrative of the Frenchman William of Villeneuve, (who tells us that, having been made prisoner at Naples by Ferdinand, he wrote "pour éviter oisiveté,") would not lead us to suspect anything of this. Petitot, xiv. 255, 260.

[d] See Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 441.

[e] Comines, iii. 99; P. Jovius, i. 55; Sism. ix. 36.

[f] See the letter in Burchard, ed. Eccard, ii. 2059; cf. 2066; Guicc. 107; Nardi, i. 64; Giesel. II. iv. 170; Hammer, ii. 275. Burlamacchi tells us that the reason of Cæsar Borgia's disappearance at Viterbo was that he had poisoned Djem. (Baluz. i. 546.) Krantz says that the prince died of grief, but that some suppose him to have taken poison. (Saxonia, 328.) The Turkish story is that the poisoning was done by means of a medicated razor, which affected the blood through a little scratch in the skin. Hammer, ii. 277.

[g] M. Sanut. in Murat. xxiv. 16; Guicc. 120-1.

[h] Comines, l. vii. c. 20; Sism. ix. 68. There were secret clauses. Guicc. 110.

a report of this formidable combination, resolved to return northwards. Before leaving Naples he wished to be formally inaugurated in his new sovereignty; but as the pope, notwithstanding an absolute promise which he had made during the king's stay at Rome,[i] refused to grant him investiture, even with a reservation of any rival claims, he resolved to act on his own authority.[k] He therefore, on the 12th of May, proceeded in state to the church of St. Januarius, arrayed in the ensigns of eastern imperial dignity,[l] and there solemnly bound himself by oath to maintain the rights and liberties of the Neapolitans.[m] He then set out homewards, leaving a part of his force to maintain his authority in the south of Italy.[n]

On his arrival at Rome, Charles found that Alexander had withdrawn two days before to Orvieto, and had taken with him all the cardinals, except Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, who was left to act as his vicar.[o] At Poggibonsi the king was again visited by Savonarola, who rebuked him for having failed to perform fully the work to which he had been called, and intimated that a punishment was hanging over him, yet assured him of the Divine protection on his return.[p] June 1

As Charles retreated northwards, the Italians, after having neglected earlier opportunities of attacking him, presented themselves in numbers far exceeding those of his army at Fornuovo on the July 6.

[i] Guicc. 81, 113.

[k] Ib. 115.

[l] He claimed the eastern empire, as having bought the rights of the Palæologi from Andrew Palæologus. Rayn. 1494. 29.

[m] Guicc. 116; Sism. ix. 78.

[n] Guicc. 114.

[o] Fr. Carpes. 1212; Guicc. 116-18; Rayn. 1495. 21-2; Gregorov. vii. 381.

[p] Guicc. 122; Nardi, i. 69; Sism. ix. 85; Perrens, i. 206, 209. See Comines, iii. 186-8, who there and elsewhere speaks with high veneration of Savonarola's sanctity, and expresses belief in his prophetical gifts, as having himself had proof of them (130, 136, 150, 226-8; see Bayle, art. *Savonarola*, n. B). The threat was supposed to be fulfilled by the death of the king's only son; and some writers (as Burlamacchi, 548) represent this as having been distinctly foretold by Savonarola. He also predicted that Charles would again descend on Italy; and the non-fulfilment of this prophecy told against him. Schröckh, xxxiii. 356.

Taro; and in this, the only battle of the whole campaign, the French gained the advantage, and the king had the satisfaction of distinguishing himself by personal valour.[q] A peace was concluded with Sforza at Novara, and

October. Charles, after an absence of about fourteen months, recrossed the Alps, and again found himself in France.[r] In the meantime Ferdinand had returned to Naples; and, although he was at first driven out by Stuart of Aubigny, a skilful general of Scottish descent whom Charles had left in command of his troops,

July 7. a second expedition put him into possession of his kingdom, through the assistance of the "Great Captain" of Spain, Gonsalvo de Aguilar.[s] Of the French who had been left at Naples, ill supplied with money and provisions, and exposed to the ravages of war and of disease, hardly any found their way home from the land of which their conquest had appeared so easy.[t]

Gonsalvo also lent his aid to the pope for the reduction

A.D. 1497. of Ostia, which had been left by Charles in the hands of cardinal Julian, and, from its position at the mouth of the Tiber, was a place of importance for the Romans.[u] For this service the great captain was rewarded by a triumphal reception at Rome. In the ceremonies of the holy week, he refused to receive the palm from the pope's own hands, because the duke of

[q] Comines (who was present), l. viii. cc. 9-12; Fr. Carpes. 1213-15; Guill. de Villeneuve, in Petitot, xiv. 262-3; Guicc. 125-30; M. Sanuto (who glorifies the prowess of the Venetians) in Murat. xxiv. 21-3; P. Jovius, i. 70-3; Sism. ix. 85.

[r] Comines, l. viii. cc. 14-18; Guicc. 161.

[s] M. Sanut. 21; Baluz. Miscell. i. 526; P. Jovius, i. 80-7; Guicc. 115, 140, 142, 194-203; Giann. iv. 451; Quintana, Vidas de Españoles Celebres, 234, seqq., ed. Paris; Martin, vii. 279. The pope had authorized the Spanish sovereigns to employ against the French in Naples the funds collected in Spain for the crusade against the Turks. Guicc. 49.

[t] Comines, iii. 187; Guicc. 162, 203; Sism. ix. 123-6; Gregorov. vii. 385.

[u] Guicc. 118, 219; Burch. 2080; P. Jovius, Vita Consalvi, in his Vitæ Illustrium Virorum, i. 222, ed Basil. 1578; Quintana, 244-6.

Gandia had received it before him; bu the condescended to accept the golden rose, which was regarded as a gift for sovereigns.[x] But the freedom with which he expressed himself as to the disorders and scandals of the court, without sparing the pope himself, made Alexander glad to be speedily delivered from his presence.[y]

The emperor Frederick III. had been succeeded by his son Maximilian, who had already been chosen king of the Romans. In contrast to his father's inertness, Maximilian displayed an excessive love of adventure, which continually led him to undertake great things without calculation as to the possibility of carrying out his designs. The need of money, which had reduced Frederick to inaction, and had brought on him the reproach of avarice, instead of restraining Maximilian from entering on arduous enterprises, compelled him to leave them unfinished; and the world, which had at first been dazzled by his brilliant and popular personal qualities, soon learnt to understand his "unstable and necessitous courses,"[z] and to attach little value to his promises and engagements. His intervention in the affairs of Italy, in 1496, had little other effect than that of contributing greatly to the decline of his reputation.[a]

Ferdinand II. of Naples died at the age of twenty-seven, soon after the recovery of his dominions, which on his death fell to his uncle Frederick, an amiable and popular prince.[b] The pope resolved to turn to advantage the restoration of the Aragonese dynasty; and he revived the schemes of Sixtus IV. for the aggrandisement of his own family.[c] Sept. 7, 1496.

[x] Burch. 2081; Gregorov. vii. 394.

[y] Rayn. 1497. 2; Gregorov. vii. 394.

[z] Bacon, Life of Henry VII. p. 51, ed. 1629.

[a] Mar. Sanut. in Murat. xxiv. 39; Guicciard. 205-14; Schmidt, iv. 351; Murat. IX. ii. 268; Sism. ix. 167-73; Gregorov. vii. 389-90. Mr. Gregorovius, however, eulogises him highly, viii. 234.

[b] Mar. Sanut. in Murat. xxiv. 39; Guicc. 202; Giann. iv. 452.

[c] "Ne manca altro a tentare ai pontefici, se non che come eglino hanno

An attempt to put down the Orsini, with a view to getting possession of their estates, was defeated by their vigorous resistance;[d] and Alexander found it necessary to make the church bear the expense of the enrichment which he designed for his children. In a secret consistory on the 7th of June, 1497, the duke of Gandia, who had just been appointed standard-bearer of the church, was formally invested in the dukedom of Benevento, with Terracina and Pontecorvo; and it was supposed that the dukedom was intended as a step to a greater elevation in Naples.[e] No one of the cardinals, except Piccolomini, ventured to object to this alienation of St. Peter's property; for Julian della Rovere and cardinal Perauld, bishop of Gurk, who might probably have joined in the protest, had been driven into exile.[f]

Two days later, Cæsar Borgia was appointed to proceed to Naples as legate for the coronation of the new king;[g] but before his departure a mysterious crime was perpetrated. On the evening of Wednesday, the 14th of June, the duke of Gandia and Cæsar, with some others, had supped at the house of Vanozza, near the church of St. Peter *ad Vincula*. The brothers mounted their mules, and rode together towards the Vatican quarter, when, near the palace which the pope had bestowed on Ascanius Sforza,[h] the duke took leave of the cardinal, saying that he wished for some further amusement before returning to the Vatican.[i] He then took up behind him one of their companions at the supper—a masked person, who for some weeks before had been accustomed to visit him at the palace,—and he rode away attended by

disegnato infino ai tempi nostri di lasciar Principi, così per lo avvenire pensino di lasciare loro il papato ereditario." Machiav. Istorie di Fir. c. i. p. 241, ed. Milan, 1804.

[d] Guicc. 216-18; Gregorov. vii. 392-3; Sism. ix. 180-3.

[e] Burch. 2081; Gregorov. vii. 396.

[f] Burch. l. c.; Gregorov. vii. 395-6.

[g] Burch. l. c.

[h] See p. 239.

[i] "Priusquam ad palatium rediret, alibi solatii causa ire velle." Burch. 2081.

a groom. Next day the groom was found mortally wounded in the Piazza of the Jews, but could give no information, except that he had been left there, with orders to wait an hour, and, if his master did not reappear within that time, to return to the palace.[k] The duke's prolonged absence excited his father's alarm, and an inquiry was set on foot. A charcoal dealer gave evidence that, while watching on the Ripetta, about the fifth hour of the night, he had seen a body thrown into the Tiber by four men, acting under the orders of one on horseback, who had brought it hanging behind him as he rode; and on being asked why he had not informed the police, the witness made an answer which throws a dismal light on the state of Rome under Alexander's government—that he had in his time seen a hundred corpses cast by night into the river, without having heard of any inquiry after them.[l] When this evidence had been received, three hundred men were employed to drag the river;[m] and the body of the duke was found, with the throat cut, and stabbed in eight other places. The hands were bound, and some money remained untouched in the pockets of the dress.[n] The pope was for the time overwhelmed by his son's dark and tragical end. As the body, after having been carried up the river in a boat, was landed at the castle of St. Angelo amidst the lamentations of the countrymen of the Borgias,[o] one voice rose so loudly above the rest that

[k] Burch. 2082.

[l] Ib.; Mariana, ii. 634.

[m] On this Sannazaro made the following epigram :—

"Piscatorem hominum ne te non, Sexte, putemus,
Piscaris natum retibus ecce tuum."

Gregorov. vii. 399.

[n] The duke, who was only 24 at the time of his death, founded the only Borgia family which lasted. He left a son, from whom descended dukes, prelates, cardinals, etc., and among them Francis, the third general of the Jesuits, who died in 1572, and was beatified in 1624, and canonized in 1724. (Gregorov. vii. 401.) See Acta SS., Oct. 10, 230-1; Stirling-Maxwell's 'Cloister-Life of Charles V.,' 60, etc., ed. 2; Reumont, III. i. 563.

[o] Alexander never forgot his country, He and his family spoke Spanish among

persons standing on the neighbouring bridge could distinctly hear it; and it was believed to be the voice of the miserable father.[p] For three days he neither ate, nor drank, nor slept;[q] he remained shut up in his apartment, from which it is said that there were heard not only his lamentations, but cries that he knew the murderer. When, however, the matter was brought before the consistory, the pope declared that he suspected no one; but the inquiry was suddenly brought to an end, and it was believed that he knew the guilty secret only too well.[r] Although men did not venture to utter their thoughts, no one doubted the guilt of Cæsar Borgia.[s] Finding himself cut off from the natural objects of his ambition by a profession for which he had neither fitness nor liking, while the circumstances of his birth excluded him from all hope of its highest dignity, it would seem that Cæsar had been struck with envy of the position to which his more fortunate brother had been raised, and of the yet higher honours which the pope was scheming for the duke; and it is said that this motive, which of itself might have been sufficient for so depraved a nature, was exasperated by jealousy at finding his brother preferred by a mistress with whom both were intimate.[t]

June 19.

To the consistory of cardinals, to ambassadors and others who were admitted to his presence, Alexander professed himself so shattered by his loss that he could

themselves; their chief attendants and confidants of all kinds, even Cæsar's trusted assassin and poisoner, were Spaniards. Burckhardt, 88; Gregorov. vii. 439.

[p] Milman, Essays, 54 (from a Venetian ambassador). [q] Burch. 2083.

[r] Gregorov. vii. 401-5; cf. Panvin. 360; Burckhardt, 90. The master of the ceremonies, Burchard, at this point, perhaps intentionally, breaks off his diary for a time, the next entry being on August 26. See Gregorov. vii. 406.

[s] Raph. Volaterr. 822.

[t] Guicc. 227; Panvin. 360; Schröckh, xxxii. 417; Gregorov. vii. 396. See Reumont, III. ii. 225. Some say that the mistress was no other than their sister (Guicc. p. iii.—a suppressed passage). But this is perhaps too monstrous, and (as we shall see hereafter) Lucretia has found her defenders.

take no interest in worldly objects; he professed to feel remorse for his past life—to care for nothing but the reformation of the church, for which he appointed a commission of six cardinals; he even talked of resigning the papacy. But in no long time these dispositions passed away. A scheme of reform, which was drawn up by the commission, remained a dead letter; and Alexander plunged again into intrigue and vice and crime.[u] For a time it was believed that the ghost of the murdered man was heard wailing by night about the Vatican; but the report died away, although the people continued to see proofs of demoniacal influence in some calamities which followed quickly on each other—storm and flood, and lightning, which caused an explosion of the powder-magazine in the castle of St. Angelo.[x]

The path of ambition now lay clear before Cæsar; and it would seem that already his plans were formed. His strength of will prevailed over the pope, who appears to have resigned himself to the loss of his elder son, and to have concentrated all his affections and his hopes on the supposed fratricide.[y] Within a few weeks after his brother's death, the cardinal proceeded on his mission to Naples, and placed the crown on the head of the king whom he was perhaps even then plotting to dethrone.[z] Aug. 10.

Under Alexander it has been truly said that the papacy changed from a theocracy to a tyranny. The Romans had lost all independence since the suppression of the Porcaro conspiracy. The college of cardinals, although it contained a few men of higher class, was chiefly filled with nominees of Alexander, who had bought their places,

[u] P. Delphin. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iii. 1156; Malipieri, 491 (Archiv. Stor. Ital. vii.); Guicc. 227; Rayn. 1496. 6; Gregorov. vii. 402-3.

[x] Ib. 408.

[y] Ib. About this time he bestowed on Cæsar all the preferments of a deceased cardinal, amounting to 12,000 ducats yearly. Ib. 409; cf. Reumont, III. ii. 206.

[z] Giann. iv. 454; Gregorov. vii. 407.

who too much resembled him in character, and in action were his slaves and tools.[a]

The death of Charles of France, which took place on the 7th of April 1498, at the age of twenty-eight,[b] opened new prospects for Alexander. The duke of Orleans, who succeeded to the throne under the name of Lewis XII., needed the papal sanction in order that he might rid himself of his wife, who had been forced on him by her father, Lewis XI., and might marry his predecessor's widow, Anne of Brittany, who by the death of Charles had again become the sole possessor of her hereditary duchy; while the pope saw in a French alliance the means of protecting himself against the threat of a general council.[c] The question of the king's marriage was investigated by a commission of bishops and doctors, who on false evidence and frivolous grounds pronounced it to be null, and reported this judgment to Rome.[d]

Dec. 17.

Cæsar Borgia had resolved to rid himself of the restraints of the clerical character. He appeared before his brother cardinals, and declared that he had always been strongly inclined to the life of a layman; that he had entered into the ecclesiastical estate out of deference to the pope's wishes alone; that he felt himself unfit for it, and desired a release from it; and that if this were granted, he would resign all his preferments. He entreated the cardinals to join with him in his petition; and they consented to do so. The pope willingly granted him the required dispensation, and the cardinal-archbishop was restored to the condition of a layman.[e]

Aug. 13.

[a] Gregorov. vii. 409.

[b] Comines, iii. 225-7; Martin, vii. 390.

[c] Guicc. 240-1; Martin, vii. 301; Gregorov. vii. 420.

[d] Guicc. 257; Martin, vii. 303-4.

[e] Burch. in Eccard, ii. 2096; Guicc. 257; Giesel. II. iv. 173. Cæsar, although an archbishop as well as a cardinal, had not been ordained beyond

Cæsar now prepared to go into France for the business of the king's divorce and re-marriage. The magnificence of his appointments was extraordinary; even the horses of his train were shod with silver.[f] And, although the French privately indulged their wit in ridiculing him,[g] he was received at Avignon and at Chinon with honours such as were usually reserved for sovereigns. He carried with him bulls for the divorce and re-marriage of Lewis, and also one by which the dignity of cardinal was bestowed on the king's favourite minister, George d'Amboise;[h] but with the intention of exacting the highest possible terms from the king, he concealed the fact as to the matrimonial bull, and professed to have only that for the divorce. The secret was betrayed by the bishop of Cette to Lewis, who thereupon proceeded, without having seen the bull, to celebrate his marriage with Anne; and it is said that Cæsar avenged himself for the bishop's indiscretion by poison.[i]

The pope, in his eagerness for the advancement of his family, had asked king Frederick of Naples to bestow on Cæsar the hand of one of his daughters, with a considerable territory;[k] but both Frederick and the princess had shown the strongest repugnance to such a connexion.[l] In return for the favour which he had bestowed on the French king in the matter of the divorce, Alexander now engaged Lewis to support him in this project; but the feelings of the Neapolitan princess were not to be overcome.[m]

the order of sub-deacon, which he received on the Annunciation, 1494. Burch. 281, ed. Gennarelli.

[f] Burch. 2097; Molinet, v. 104-5, ed. Buchon.

[g] Brantome, quoted by Gregorov. vii. 423.

[h] Burch. 2098.

[i] Guicc. 258. The divorced queen, Joan, founded a religious order, of which the rule is given by Rinaldi (1501. 4, seqq.), with the pope's confirmation of it. She was said to have done miracles after death. (Mém. de Bayart, i. 200, ed. Petitot.) See Acta SS., Feb. 4, p. 579; Wadding, xv. 284-6.

[k] According to Guicciardini (244), Alexander trusted that, if Cæsar obtained so much, he might depose Frederick.

[l] Burch. 2098; Gregorov. vii. 420.

[m] Guicc. 277.

Lewis, however, had so far pledged his assistance that he felt himself bound to obtain for Cæsar the hand of some lady whose birth might be suitable to the aspirations of the Borgias; and thus the ex-cardinal became the husband of Charlotte d'Albret, sister of the king of Navarre, and niece of Lewis. It was a condition of the marriage that one of her brothers should be created a cardinal; and on the other hand Lewis bestowed on Cæsar the duchy of Valentinois, and promised to assist him in his schemes of Italian conquest.[n]

Lewis had from the time of his accession declared his designs on Milan by assuming the title of duke, on the ground of descent through his grandmother, Valentina, from the first duke of the Visconti family.[o] In the summer of 1499, a campaign of twenty days made him master of the duchy, while Lewis the Moor sought a refuge in the Tyrol, with the emperor Maximilian, who had married his niece and had borrowed large sums of him.[p] The king entered Milan in triumph, on the 6th of October;[q] but a reaction speedily followed, and Sforza, within five months from the day when he had left Milan amid the curses of his subjects, was received back with extravagant joy.[r] In the war which ensued, however, he was betrayed at Novara by his Swiss mercenaries, who entered into an agreement with their countrymen in the French service;[s] and the last ten years of his life were spent

August.

Feb. 5, 1500.

April 10.

[n] Burch. 2099; Guicc. 257; Ranke, Hist. of Popes, iii. 252 (from a Venetian minister's report). Cæsar retained as duke of Valentinois the title of Valentino, which he had before borne as cardinal-archbishop of Valencia. Mariana, ii. 652.

[o] Guicc. 238-9. On the defectiveness of this claim, see Sismondi, Rép. Ital. ix. 209.

[p] Molinet, iv. 409 (in Buchon); Guicc. 286; M. Sanut. in Murat. xxiv. 100-2, 123; Rayn. 1499. 16, 20; Sism. ix. 235-41.

[q] Burch. 2103-6; M. Sanut. 119; Guicc. 287.

[r] M. Sanut. 137-9; Guicc. 299; Sism. ix. 242-5.

[s] Guicc. 302; Fr. Carpes. 1232. Since their victories over Charles of Burgundy the Swiss had become the chief soldiers in Europe, but by their

in a narrow iron cage at Loches.[t] His brother, the ambitious cardinal Ascanius, was also made a prisoner, and was closely imprisoned at Bourges.[u]

But beyond Milan Lewis carried his views to Naples. Alexander had in 1497 invested Frederick in that kingdom; but he had since been deeply offended by the persistent refusal of his son's alliance in marriage, while he had become bound to the French king by ties of mutual interest.[x] There was, however, reason to apprehend opposition from Frederick's kinsman, Ferdinand of Spain, who asserted that he himself was the rightful heir of the Aragonese line of Naples, inasmuch as Alfonso I. had not been entitled to bequeath the kingdom to his illegitimate offspring.[y] But the crafty Ferdinand professed that, for the sake of peace, he was willing to admit the concurrent claim of Lewis, as heir of the line of Durazzo; and on this basis a flagitious scheme of joint conquest, to be followed by a partition of the Neapolitan territory between France and Spain, was agreed on at Granada on St. Martin's day, 1500.[z] It was alleged against Frederick, not only that his title was defective, but that he had invited the Turks to attack a Christian power—a charge which might with equal truth have been made against the pope himself, with the addition that he had profited by his correspondence with the Turks, whereas Frederick had received no benefit from them.[a] The ambassadors of France and Spain urged these considerations on the pope, and represented that their sovereigns (whose troops had already entered the States of the Church) desired the possession of Naples only with a view to the conquest of

mercenary habits had been corrupted from the simplicity and good faith which had formerly marked their manners. Guicc. 148; Sism. ix. 247.

[t] M. Sanut. 150-1; Guicc. 304.

[u] Ib.

[x] Schröckh, xxvii. 428; Giann. iv. 461.

[y] Ib. 448; see p. 161.

[z] Guicc. 315; Mariana, ii. 664; Giann. iv. 459; Prescott, iii. 12-14.

[a] Guicc. 326; Rayn. 1501. 52; Schr. xxxii. 428; Gregorov. vii. 451.

Constantinople. The pope, in addition to his wish to punish Frederick for his offence, saw that, if he were removed, the barons of the Campagna, whose subjugation Alexander meditated, would be deprived of all support from without. He therefore agreed to invest the French and Spanish sovereigns in their expected conquests, and pronounced Frederick to be deposed for his connexion with the infidels and for having fostered rebels against the church; but this sentence was to be kept secret until the result of the expedition should be known.[b] Ferdinand's general, the "great captain" Gonsalvo, who was already in Sicily for the purpose of assisting the Venetians against the Turks, crossed over to Naples at the invitation of the unsuspecting Frederick, and perfidiously turned against him.[c] From the other side, Stuart of Aubigny, accompanied by Cæsar Borgia as his lieutenant, advanced into the Neapolitan territory. Capua was taken by the help of treachery, and Cæsar found an opportunity of signally displaying his cruelty, rapacity, and lust.[d] It was clear that Frederick could have no hope of success against the combination of powerful enemies which had attacked him. In his extremity, he chose to surrender himself to the stranger rather than to the perfidious kinsman who had taken advantage of his unsuspecting faith to effect his ruin; and he received from Lewis the duchy of Anjou, with a pension of 30,000 ducats, on condition that he should not quit the soil of France.[e]

June 25, 1501.

July 24.

[b] Burch. 2131; Rayn. 1501. 53, seqq.; Mariana, ii. 664; Giann. iv. 401.

[c] Guicc. 320-2; Sism. ix. 286, 288; Prescott, iii. 20. Quintana represents Gonsalvo as the unwilling and indignant agent of Ferdinand in this. 258-9.

[d] Burch. 2132; Guicc. 324; Giann. iv. 463; Sism. ix. 289-90.

[e] Guicc. 326; Panvin. 359; F. Carpes. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. 1238; Giann. iv. 464; Martin, vii. 351. Frederick died in 1504. (Guicc. 419.) His sons left no issue; but his daughter Charlotte (the same who had rejected the Borgia connexion) married the count of Laval, and left a daughter who became the wife of Francis de la Tremoille. The descendants of this marriage claimed to inherit the Nea-

With the countenance of the French king, and with some material aid from him, the duke of Valentinois entered on his campaigns in Italy in 1499.[f] The design was to form for the Borgia family a large principality, and in the first instance to gain possession of some of the remoter territories belonging to the Roman church. These had formerly been committed to the care of papal vicars, whose descendants had gradually assumed the position of independent lords, paying their tribute to the Roman see irregularly, if at all, engaging themselves in the service of princes, without consideration of their obligations to the church, and acting in a general disregard of its superiority.[g] Each of them had his palace and his court, at which, according to the fashion of the age, artists, poets, and men of letters were entertained. The expenses of these courts usually made it necessary to tax the subjects oppressively, even if worse means of raising money were not employed; the morals of the princes were commonly of the depraved type which in that age was characteristic of Italy; their courts and their territories were full of lawlessness and crimes; assassinations, poisonings, and other such atrocities were familiar matters of every day.[h] By ejecting these petty tyrants, therefore, the pope intended not only to aggrandize his family, but to put into their place one who, instead of their rebellious defiance, would be guided by policy and interest to act in accordance with the papacy;[i] and he had little reason to fear that they would be supported by any popular feeling among those who had suffered from their vices and their misgovernment. Their failure as to the payment of tribute afforded a pretext for confiscating their territories; and Cæsar proceeded to carry out the papal sentence.[k]

politan title. Bayle, art. *Naples, Alfonso de*, n. K; Giann. iv. 476-8.

[f] Sism. ix. 264-5; Gregorov. vii. 432.

[g] Guicc. 295; Sism. ix. 258; Gregorov. vii. 431.

[h] Sism. ix. 258-62; N. British Rev., Jan. 1871, p. 357.

[i] Ib. 363.

[k] Burch. 2107; Guicc. 295.

At one place after another he was successful:[1] the only considerable difficulty which he encountered was at Forlì, where Catharine Sforza, the widow of Jerome Riario,[m] vigorously defended herself for a time; but she was at last compelled to submit, and for a time was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo.[n]

On his return to Rome, Cæsar was honoured with a
Feb. 26. triumph, and with a public reception by the
1500. pope, who soon after bestowed on him the golden rose, and appointed him captain-general and standard-bearer of the church, in the room of his murdered brother.[o] His success was celebrated with games and other festive spectacles; among which was a representation in the Piazza Navona of the victories of Julius Cæsar.[p] The alienation of the church's patrimony to the Borgias was sanctioned by the college of cardinals; and Cæsar joined to the title of Valentinois that of duke of Romagna.[q] In order to counteract in some degree the impression which his crimes had made on the minds of men, he established throughout his dominions an energetic system of administration, which appeared in favourable contrast with the misrule of the ejected princes;[r] but even as to this he delighted to employ that system of mysterious terror which was one of his chief instruments. Thus, when the province had been reduced to order by the stern rigour of a governor named Ramiro d'Orco, the people of Cesena were startled by discovering one morn-
Dec. 26, ing in their market-place the body of the
1502. governor, with the head severed from it, and

[1] Guicc. 312; Panvin. 360; Rayn. 1502. 10.

[m] See p. 211. Jerome had been assassinated at Forlì, in April, 1480. (Infess. 1981; M. Sanut. 1244; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 225.) His widow was privately re-married to one of the Medici family. Guicc. 246.

[n] Ib. 297; F. Carpesan. 1127; Burch. 2111; Sism. ix. 263-4.

[o] April 2, Burch. 2113-15; Gregorov. vii. 438.

[p] Ib. vii. 439. [q] Guicc. 318.

[r] "Summa æquitate populos regebat." (R. Volaterr. 825.) Guicciardini speaks of a popular feeling in favour of Cæsar after his father's death. 384.

a block with a bloody knife between them,—a spectacle by which the duke intended to claim for himself the credit of his good government, to throw the blame of past severities on the officer who had thus been punished for them, and to strike a general awe by the manner of Ramiro's end.[s]

Having gained the greater part of the Romagna (although he found himself obliged to leave the Bentivoglio family in possession of Bologna),[t] Cæsar turned his attention towards Tuscany. But here he found that his ally the king of France, instead of assisting him, required him to give up his attempt; June 1501. and he was obliged to content himself with receiving from the republic of Florence the office of condottiere, with a large income attached to it, and with the understanding that no services were to be required of him.[u] The countenance shown by the French king to a man so generally execrated as Cæsar induced many complaints, which were laid before the king at Asti, with entreaties that he would deliver the church both from Alexander and from his son.[x] It would seem that Lewis thought of deposing the pope, and that to this time is to be referred a medal which he struck, with the inscription, "Perdam Babilonis nomen."[y] But Alexander, who had already gratified the king by appointing his minister d'Amboise legate *a latere* for France, drew the cardinal afresh into his interest by promising to create additional cardinals, with a view to promoting his election to the papacy; and Cæsar, on hurrying to Lewis at Milan, was received with cordiality and confidence. The Aug. 1502.

[s] Machiav. Principe, c. 7; Legazione al Duca Valentino, lett. 42; Sism. ix. 268; x. 25.

[t] Guicc. 318; Gregorov. vii. 448.

[u] Guicc. 320; Machiav. Principe, c. 7; Sism. ix. 279.

[x] Ib. 317.

[y] It is generally said to have been struck on occasion of his differences with Julius II. But its appearance, and the sensation excited by it, are mentioned in a letter of Costabili, Aug. 11, 1502. N. British Rev., Jan. 1871, p. 356.

alliance with the king was confirmed, and Lewis soon after returned to France.[z]

By the partition of the Neapolitan kingdom, the barons of the Campagna were deprived of the support on which they had relied; and Cæsar proceeded to reduce them to submission. But in the course of this war, the duke's condottieri and captains, of whom many belonged to the same class with the enemies against whom they were engaged, began to perceive that they were lending themselves as instruments for their own ruin.

Oct. 1502. Cæsar was suddenly surprised by a mutiny, and was shut up in the town of Imola,[a] until the besiegers were driven off by the approach of some French troops, who advanced to his assistance. Cæsar, after having treated with the leaders of the mutiny singly, was able to bring them together, as if for a conference, at Sinigaglia, where he had collected as large a force as possible; and, after having by a show of kindness led them to throw off all suspicion, and to disarm their followers, he caused them to be surrounded

Dec. 31. by his soldiery, arrested them, and put some of the most important among them to death.[b] Such was the morality of the age, that this atrocious treachery was regarded with general admiration. Lewis XII. himself spoke of it (apparently without sarcasm or irony) as "a Roman deed"; and Machiavelli repeatedly eulogizes Cæsar as the model of a prince and a statesman.[c]

Among those arrested at Sinigaglia were some of the

[z] Guicc. 341-2; Sism. ix. 317.

[a] Guicc. 336, 346; Panvin. 360.

[b] Burch. 2148-9; F. Carpes. 246-8; Guicc. 348-52; Panvin. 361; Raph. Volat. 823; Machiav. Legazione, c. xliii. (an account of a mission to the duke); Sism. ix. 325-33; Schröckh, xxxii. 421; Gregorov. vii. 472-7.

[c] "Un' azione da Romano." (Letter of Beltrando Costabili to the duke of Ferrara, quoted by Gregorov. vii. 481.) But were the ancient or the modern Romans meant? Paul Giovio, bishop of Nocera, is unequivocal in calling it a "bellissimo inganno." (Ib.) "Io non saprei quali precetti mi dare migliori ad un principe nuovo che lo esempio delle azioni sue." Machiav., Il Principe, c. 7; cf. c. 13; Gregorov. vii. 487.

Orsini—a family which Alexander had determined to ruin. After having disregarded many warnings against intended treachery, cardinal Orsini[d] allowed himself to be decoyed into an interview with the pope, who committed him to prison, seized his treasures, and gave up his palace to plunder.[e] The cardinals in a body interceded for their brother, but without effect. For a time Orsini was kept without suitable food, until his mother, by a large sum of money, and his mistress, by finding and giving up a very precious pearl which had belonged to him, obtained leave to send him supplies. But before this, the pope had caused one of his favourite powders to be administered, and the cardinal died in prison.[f] As Cæsar returned to Rome, marking his path by acts of cruelty in every town through which he passed, the Orsini made a desperate but ineffectual stand at the Ponte Lomentano. The Borgias had crushed all opposition;[g] but the pope himself stood in awe of his son, and professed to be shocked by the atrocity of Cæsar's measures.[h] Feb. 22, 1503.

For his daughter Lucretia, Alexander formed projects which became more and more ambitious. After a marriage of less than three years, her husband, Sforza of Pesaro, appears to have felt himself unsafe in the connexion, and fled from Rome; whereupon their union was dissolved under frivolous pretexts, and she was married to a youth of seventeen, Alfonso, prince of Bisceglia, an illegitimate son of Alfonso II., the late king of Naples.[i] But this new husband appears in Easter 1496—Sept. 1497.

[d] Burch. 2142.

[e] Guicc. 352; Reumont, III. i. 244.

[f] Burchard, 2142, 2149-50 (who says that he avoided the cardinal's funeral because he did not wish to know too much). F. Carpesan. 1248; Guicc. 353. "Causa mortis omnibus facile judicata," says Raphael of Volterra (823); Gregorov. vii. 479, 485.

[g] Burch. 2150; Gregorov. vii. 488.

[h] Ib. 482-3; N. Brit. Rev., Jan. 1871, p. 363.

[i] Burch. 2096-7; M. Sanut. in Murat. xxiv. 45; Giesel. II. iv. 167; Guicc. 327; Gregorov. vii. 395, 420.

his turn to have suspected that mischief was intended against him,[k] and secretly left Rome for Naples.[l] The pope, however, persuaded him to return; and he had lived with his wife ten months longer,[m] when, on the 15th of July, 1500, he was stabbed on the steps of St. Peter's. The assassins were carried off in safety by a troop of horsemen. The authorship of the crime was inferred from the fact that no inquiry was allowed; and, as the wounded man seemed likely to recover, he was strangled in his bed on the 18th of August. It is said that Cæsar Borgia not only contrived but witnessed the murder, and that he justified it by charging the victim with designs against his life.[n] A year later, Lucretia was again married, with great pomp, to a third or fourth husband—Alfonso, eldest son of the duke of Ferrara.[o] By condescending to such a connexion (which was forwarded by the influence of the French king) the proud house of Este, which had been alarmed by Cæsar Borgia's progress, gained for itself the pope's protection, security against the territorial ambition of the Borgias, a large payment of money, and the free possession of some ecclesiastical fiefs in the Romagna; while for the Borgias, in addition to the dignity of the alliance, there was the advantage that the new

Aug. 2, 1499.

September.

Sept. 4, 1501.

[k] Sismondi (ix. 311) and Gregorovius (vii. 446) say that the value of the connexion for the Borgias had been diminished by the fall of Alfonso's uncle Frederick; but this, as we have seen (p. 266), did not take place until the summer of 1501.

[l] Burch. 2101; Giesel. vii. 428-9.

[m] Burch. 2103. A son was born Nov. 1, and was baptized with great pomp on Nov. 11. (Ib. 2107-8.) There is no apparent reason for supposing that Alfonso was not on good terms with his wife; but he stood in the way of the family politics.

[n] Burch. 2122; Polo Capello, in Ranke, Hist. of Popes, iii. 252-3; Guicc. 327; Gregorov. vii. 445. Alfonso's doctors, and a hunchback who had helped in nursing him, were put in prison, but were soon released, "cum esset immunis qui mandantibus ceperat optime notum." (Burch. 2123.) The meaning of this is pretty clear, although the text seems to be corrupt.

[o] Burch. 2133. See Reumont, III. i. 500.

duchy of Romagna was covered on its weakest side by the territory of a friendly power.[p] Lucretia, who had not only exercised the government of Spoleto, but during her father's absence from Rome had actually been entrusted with the administration of the papacy,[q] removed to Ferrara,[r] where she lived until 1519. In her later years she cultivated the reputation of religion, and earned the celebration of poets—among them, of Ariosto.[s] But although we may hesitate or refuse to believe, at least in their full extent, the foulest of the charges which have assailed her,[t] it is impossible to disconnect her from the treasons and murders, the brutal licentiousness, the gross and scandalous festivities, amid which her earlier life was spent, and in some of which it appears that she took a conspicuous part.[u] Nor are either poets or divines superior to the temptation of overlooking the faults of persons in high station

Jan. 5, 1502.

[p] Guicc. 327; Burch. 2133; Gibbon, Misc. Works, 820; Sism. ix. 312; Gregorov. vii. 458; Reumont, III. i. 239.

[q] Burch. 2132. She was authorized to open all letters addressed to the pope. Ib.

[r] Ib. 2136.

[s] "Lucrezia Borgia, di cui d' ora in ora
La beltà, la virtu, la fama onesta
E la fortuna cresceva non meno
Che giovin pianta in morbido terreno."
Orlando Fur. xiii. 69; Reumont, III. i. 205; Gregorov. vii. 463-4. Lucretia has found defenders among us in Roscoe (Append. to Life of Leo X.), Dr. Madden (Life of Savonarola, Append. to Vol. II.), and more lately in Mr. Gilbert ('Lucretia Borgia,' Lond. 1869). Mr. Gregorovius rightly speaks of this last work as "an uncritical panegyric." (vii. 464.) Mr. Dennistoun is more moderate and more judicious (Dukes of Urbino, i. 305-7). As to her acquirements, the Venetian minister Capello describes her, in her early days, as "savia e liberal" (Ranke, iii. 253), and when Bayard visited her at Ferrara, she spoke and wrote Spanish, Italian, French, Greek, and "quelque peu très-bon Latin." (Petitot, xv. 358; see Reumont, III. i. 205.) Petitot is wrong in supposing Bayard's duchess o have been an earlier wife of Alfonso.

[t] Schröckh, xxxii. 434; Gregorov. vii. 464. For these see the Life of Cæsar Borgia by Tommaso Tomasi Gregorio Leti), Victor Hugo's play of 'Lucrèce Borgia,' etc. They are countenanced by a suppressed passage of Guicciardini, vol. I. p. iii. Even as to her life at Ferrara, Burchard says that there was great hatred between Cæsar and cardinal d'Este, because the cardinal "diligebat et cognoscebat" his sister-in-law, "quam et ipse dux [Cæsar] etiam cognoscebat carnaliter." 2150.

[u] See Gibbon, Misc. Works, 820; Gregorov. vii. 458; Sism. ix. 312. See a story of her jesting with the cardinal of Lisbon, in Burch. 2132.

whose patronage they regard as a benefit and an honour.

The moral degradation into which the papacy sank under Alexander has no parallel either in its earlier or in its later history, even if we make large deductions from the statements of contemporary writers on the ground of malice or exaggeration. The pope himself and his children are accused of profligacy which hesitated at nothing for its gratification, which never scrupled to remove obstacles by murder, or to violate the laws of nature. The Vatican was polluted by revels and orgies of the most shameless and loathsome obscenity, of which the pope and his daughter are represented as pleased spectators.[x] A letter of the time, which is said to have been read in Alexander's own hearing, paints the morals of the court in the darkest colours, and speaks of him as a man stained with every vice, a second Mahomet, the predicted antichrist.[y]

For the expenses of this disgusting and costly wickedness, for the wars and pompous displays of Cæsar Borgia, for the establishment of his other children in the rank of princes, Alexander needed money continually; and he raised it by means more shameless than anything that had before been practised. An epigram of the time (for epigrams and pasquils were the only form in which the Romans then ventured to express their discontent) speaks of him as selling all that was holiest, and as entitled to sell, inasmuch as he had previously bought.[z] The most disreputable of the expedients to which earlier popes had resorted—sale of offices and benefices, creation of new

[x] Burch. 2134-5; R. Volaterr. 825; Schröckh, xxxii. 434.

[y] Burch. 2144, seqq.

[z] "Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum;
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.
Sextus Tarquinius, sextus Nero, sextus et iste,
Semper sub sextis perdita Roma fuit.'

Gregorov. 473: cf. 410, 504; Giesel. II. iv. 177; Sism. x. 21; see Burckhardt, 210; Vettori, in Reumont, III. i. 498.

offices in order that they might be sold,[a] traffic in indulgences, misappropriation of money raised under pretence of a crusade—these and such like abuses were carried to an excess before unknown.[b] Cardinals were appointed in large numbers—at one time twelve, at another time eleven—with the avowed purpose of extorting money for their promotion.[c] The jubilee of 1500 attracted a vast number of pilgrims to Rome:[d] on Easter-day, 200,000 knelt in front of St. Peter's to receive the pope's benediction;[e] and while these multitudes returned home, to scandalize all Christendom by their reports of the depravities of Rome,[f] the papal treasury was enriched by their offerings, and by the commutations paid by those who were unable to make the pilgrimage in person.[g] The "right of spoils" *(jus exuviarum)* received new developments for the gratification of Alexander's rapacity; he seized the property of deceased cardinals in disregard of their testamentary directions; in some cases he forbade cardinals to make wills; and it was believed that the deaths of those who had the reputation of wealth were sometimes hastened by poison.[h] Property was largely taken from the great Roman families—often under false pretences—for the endowment of the pope's children and kindred.[i] Thus the Gaetani were charged with treason, because Alexander had fixed his desires on the duchy of

[a] Panvin. 361.

[b] Infess. 2013; Gregorov. vii. 504.

[c] Sept. 28, 1500; May 31, 1503; Ciac. iii. 192, 202; Gregorov. vii. 447, 492.

[d] The bull for the jubilee is in Rayn. 1499. 25. For the ceremonies, see Burchard, 2110, seqq. Most of the money went to Cæsar. (Guicc. 313.) Trithemius speaks of many pilgrims as dying of plague, killed, or sold on the way. (Chr. Sponh. 1500.) The collection for jubilee indulgences was continued later in Germany. Ib. 1502.

[e] Burch. 2117.

[f] Mariana, ii. 663.

[g] Schröckh, xxxii. 427; Gregorov. vii. 436, 442. In 1501 a commissioner was sent to England to give indulgences to those who had not visited Rome, and to raise money under the pretext of a crusade. Certain sum were appointed to be paid by all classes Letters of Rich. III. and Hen. VII. ed. Gairdner, ii. 43, 100.

[h] Panvin. 362; Schröckh, xxxii. 427 Gregorov. vii. 471.

[i] Ib. 456.

Sermoneta. The duke was committed to the castle of St. Angelo, where he died, probably of poison. Others of the family were put to death, and the duchy was made over, by a pretended sale, to Lucretia, whose son by Alfonso of Bisceglia was decorated with the title attached to it.[k] Another boy, the son of Alexander by a Roman mother[l] (probably Julia Farnese),[m] was made duke of Nepi, with a suitable endowment. The interests of the church were utterly disregarded, in order that the pope's bastards might be enriched; thus Cæsar, in addition to his fiefs in the Romagna, received the abbey of Subiaco with eighteen castles belonging to it; and nineteen cardinals signed the deed of alienation, while not one dared to object to it.[n]

July 5, 1500.

Rome was kept under a system of terror, so that no one dared to mutter his dissatisfaction.[o] The dungeons of St. Angelo and of the Tor di Nona[p] were crowded with prisoners, of whom many found an end by secret violence. Prelates whose wealth made them objects of sinister interest to the pope disappeared, and were not again heard of. Dead bodies were found in the streets, or were thrown into the Tiber.[q] Hosts of spies and assassins lurked in secret, or audaciously swaggered about the city.[r] The state of Rome can hardly have

[k] Burch. 2113; Schröckh, xxxii. 424; Gregorov. vii. 456.

[l] "Cum quadam Romana." Burch. 2134.

[m] Gregorov. vii. 456.

[n] Ib. 457, 502-3; Reumont, III. i. 238.

[o] Panvin. 363.

[p] The Tor di Nona (of which the name is still preserved by a street leading to the bridge of St. Angelo) was originally a fortress belonging to the Orsini, and about the end of the 14th century became a prison, to which additions were afterwards made. Reumont, III. i. 444.

[q] *E.g.*, "Feria quinta reperti sunt in Tiberi suffocati et mortui . . . juvenis decem et octo annorum in circa, pulchræ formæ et staturæ, cum balista ad collum, et duo juvenes cum brachiis simul ligati, unus quindecim annorum et alter viginti quinque, et prope eos erat quædam fœmina, et multi alii." (Burch. 2138.) A Venetian minister at Rome, Polo Capello, writes that Cæsar had assassinated his brother the duke of Gandia and others—"Tutta Roma trema di esso ducha non li faza amazzar." Ranke, Hist. of Popes, iii. 253. Cf. Murat. Ann. X. i. 21-2; Gregorov. vii. 480.

[r] R. Volaterr. 825; Gregorov. vii, 465, 491-2; Burckhardt, 93.

been made worse by an edict which allowed all persons who had been banished for murder, robbery, or other crimes, to return with impunity.[s] June, 1501. The ruling spirit in this general terror was Cæsar Borgia, with whom the pope remonstrated on his tyranny, while he extolled his own clemency by way of contrast.[t]

The powers which had combined for the conquest of Naples soon quarrelled about the division of their prey.[u] After a time, a treaty was arranged at Lyons, by which Naples was to become the endowment of a marriage between the French king's daughter Claude, and Charles, the child of the emperor's son Philip by Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella;[x] and, until the parties should be of age to consummate the marriage, the partition of Granada was to be in force.[y] But the Spanish general Gonsalvo, taking advantage of the weakness of the French in southern Italy, and professing that he had no official knowledge of the treaty, suddenly assumed the offensive, and made himself master of the whole Neapolitan territory;[z] and Ferdinand, in order to gain the benefit of this treachery, disowned the treaty of Lyons, under the pretext that Philip, who had acted for him, had exceeded his instructions.[a] The French king was preparing an expedition for the recovery of his Neapolitan territory, and for the chastisement of Cæsar Borgia, who had been joined with Gon- April 2, 1503.

[s] Burch. 2128.

[t] Gregorov. vii. 468. It was a proverb that the pope never did what he said, and that the duke never said what he did. Guicc. 377.

[u] Ib. 331-2; Martin, vii. 334; Giann. iv. 466; Prescott, iii. 34.

[x] Guicc. 363; Sism. R. I. ix. 345; Martin, vii. 336. Charles, afterwards famous as the fifth emperor of that name, was born Feb. 24, 1500, and the tidings of his birth were received at Rome during the celebration of Cæsar Borgia's triumph (see p. 268). Burch. 2115.

[y] See p. 265.

[z] Guicc. 364, seqq.; Fr. Carpes. 1254, seqq. The Spanish historians try to extenuate the treachery. Prescott, iii. 82-6.

[a] Guicc. 371; Giann. iv. 471-3; Sism. x. 18; Martin, vii. 337,

salvo in the late campaign, when it was suddenly reported that the pope was dead.[b]

At the age of seventy-two, Alexander still appeared full of vigour; the sonorous and musical voice with which he officiated in the mass at Easter 1503, excited the admiration of the Ferrarese ambassador.[c] His schemes had all been thus far successful, and he was meditating yet further projects of ambition.[d] On the 12th of August, Alexander supped at his vineyard, near the Vatican palace,[e] with his son the duke of Valentinois and Adrian cardinal of St. Chrysogonus and bishop of Hereford.[f] All three were seized with sudden illness; and it was commonly believed that the pope and his son had drunk, through a servant's mistake, of poisoned wine, designed by Cæsar for the cardinal, whose wealth had attracted the cupidity of the Borgias.[g] Adrian, after a severe illness, during which it is said that the whole skin of his body was changed,[h] recovered; Cæsar, although with difficulty, was carried through by the immediate use

[b] Guicc. 378-80.

[c] Beltrando Costabili, quoted by Gregorov. vii. 487. If the day named, April 17, is correct, it was Easter Monday.

[d] Guicc. 381; R. Volaterr. 826; Gregorov. vii. 494.

[e] Some (as Jovius, Vita Consalvi, 260) place the banquet at the cardinal's vineyard.

[f] Adrian Castellesi, usually styled, from his birthplace, the cardinal of Corneto, was appointed bishop of Hereford in 1502, and in 1504 was translated to Bath and Wells. He was distinguished for the elegance of his Latin style. (Ciac. iii. 206.) It was for him that Bramante built the noble palace in the Borgo, (now called Giraud-Torlonia) which the cardinal gave to Henry VIII., and which became the residence of the English ambassadors. (See Vasari, vii. 130.) Having afterwards been implicated in the conspiracy of Petrucci against Leo X., by listening to the cardinal without giving information against him, he lived at Venice until Leo's death, and is supposed to have been murdered on his way to the election of a successor. (See Bacon, Hist. of Hen. VII. 70; Godwin, De Præsulibus, 385-6; Bayle, art. *Hadrien, cardinal;* Roscoe's Leo X.; Reumont, III. i. 361; Gregorov. vii. 653; viii. 212.)

[g] Guicc. 381; P. Jovius, Vita Consalvi, 260; Fr. Carpes. 1256. "Causam in cœnam venenatam incerto auctore vulgo constans opinio jactat." (R. Volat. 826.) Ranke gives a story from a MS. of M. Sanuto, that Adrian, suspecting poison, bribed the pope's cook, who thereupon served up a poisoned dish of confections to Alexander. Hist. of Popes, iii. 253.

[h] Jovius, l. c. 260.

of antidotes, aided by his youth and natural force of constitution;[i] but the pope died within a week, after having received the last rites of the church. Aug. 18. His illness appears to have been treated as a fever, and may perhaps have been no more than an ordinary disease of this kind.[k] But it was reported that his body was black and swollen, as if from poison; and it was commonly believed at Rome that the devil, by whose aid he had attained the papacy, after having long attended on him in the form of an ape, had carried off his forfeit soul.[l]

The circumstances of the time, after the expulsion of the Medici, had led the Florentines to look to Savonarola for guidance; and he found himself inevitably drawn to mingle deeply in political affairs.[m] The parties at Florence were three: the *whites*, or popular party, who,

[i] Guicc. 380-1; Jovius, Vita Leonis X., 28.

[k] Rayn. 1503. 11; see Sism. R. I. x. 22; Ciac. iii. 162; Gregorov. vii. 495, 497, 499; N. British Rev., Jan. 1871, p. 367; Alzog, ii. 186; Roscoe's Leo, i. 194, 469. Yet how is the illness of his two companions to be accounted for? A MS. quoted by Rinaldi (1503. 12) ascribes the illness of the pope and his son to malaria. Raphael of Volterra speaks of Alexander as the most remarkable instance of good fortune—"Postremo, quum omnes exitum expectarent malum, levi morbo, annosus, inque suo lectulo, inter oscula filiorum decessit."

[l] Gregorov. vii. 496. Picus (Vita Savonar. ed. Bates, 139) says that some supposed him to have been poisoned; others, to have been strangled by a devil, "Certe constat eum more utris inflatum distentumque periisse." Guicciardini says that the corpse was "nero, enfiato, e bruttissimo, segni manifestissimi di veleno," and that the Romans crowded to look at it when it was laid out in St. Peter's, from their detestation of him (i. 480-1). The Ferrarese ambassador says that the black and swollen appearance of the body gave rise to the popular belief of poison. Reumont, III. i. 247; see Murat. Ann. X. i. 18-20.

[m] Picus, 111; Milman, 26-7; Villari, i. 241-3; P. Jovius, Vita Leonis, 19. "Is enim astutia singulari, mediocri doctrina, sermone facundo, ambitione immensa, prophetam se esse simulabat . . . . eoque res processerat ut non solum in rebus divinis, sed in administranda republica a civibus passim consuleretur, nihil omnino publici aut privati nisi eo auctore fieret." (Raph. Volaterr. 181.) Burchard, who regards him as an impostor, says, "Ejus nutu civitas regebatur" (2087); and in like manner the Venetian chronicler, in Murat. xxiv. 51, speaks of him as absolute. For instances of the political action of Italian saints, see Perrens, i. 120.

although far from being penetrated by Savonarola's religious principles, usually acted in accordance with him; the *greys*, or adherents of the Medici, who for the time found it necessary to disguise their opinions; and the oligarchical party, mostly composed of violent young men, from whom it got the names of *arrabbiati* (infuriated) and *compagnacci*. These were generally opposed at once to Savonarola's political views and to his religious and moral strictness; and they derided his followers as *piagnoni* (weepers), *fratteschi*, and *masticapaternostri*.[n] Agreeably to the principles of the book 'On the Government of Princes,' commonly ascribed to Thomas of Aquino,[o] Savonarola held that, while monarchy was in itself the best form of government, different polities were suitable for various states; that the intelligence, advanced culture, and courage of the Florentines rendered them fit for a purely republican government;[p] and to his influence the establishment of a popular, yet not democratic, constitution was chiefly due.[q] But while his political allies wished to use his religious influence for their own purposes, the Dominican's great object was to make political reform subservient to the reformation of morals and religion.[r] He proclaimed the sovereignty of Christ, and did not hesitate to deduce from this the sacredness of the laws which he himself set forth.[s] His visions increased, partly through the effect of his ascetic exercises.[t]

[n] Perrens, i. 180; Villari, i. 197-8, 306-11, 328-9.

[o] Perrens, ii. 267. See vol. vi. p. 472.

[p] Hase, 119; see Perrens, ii. 277-9. Savonarola is very severe on "tyranny," by which he meant the government of the Medici. Ib. 286-93, 303; Nardi, i. 51-4.

[q] Guicc. 104; Villari, i. 245-9, 252-6, 260, seqq. M. Perrens is especially desirous to show that Savonarola was yet not a demagogue, i. 137-40 (cf. Hase, 120); yet he elsewhere speaks as if the lower citizens had too much sway (225). The Medici had ruled by universal suffrage, and therefore Savonarola opposed it. Milman, 27.

[r] Vill. i. 250, 412-13.

[s] Milman, 28-9; Perr. i. 140-9. Machiavelli highly praises his views of statesmanship, but says nothing of his plans as to religious reform. (Gregorov. vii. 414-15.) See the opinions collected by Villari, i. 285-8.

[t] Ib. 295, 306; Giesel. II. iv. 172.

He expected supernatural guidance in determining the subjects of his preaching, and even believed in the visions[u] of a monastic brother named Sylvester Maruffi, although these were evidently nothing more than the offspring of a nervous temperament[x] combined with a weak and ignorant mind. He frequently expressed his expectation of a violent death, and he carried a small crucifix in his sleeve, by way of preparation for a sudden end.[y]

In the meantime the effects of his preaching had begun to appear in the graver dress and more decorous manners both of men and of women; in church-going, fasting, almsgiving, in the celebration of marriages with seriousness, instead of the levity which had been usual, in habits of family devotion, which were almost monastic, in the restoration of wrongful or questionable gains, in the reading of religious books, in the substitution of hymns for the licentious and half-pagan carnival-songs of former times, some of which had been composed by Lorenzo himself.[z] The grosser vices seemed to have disappeared; the spectacles and games in which the Florentines had delighted were neglected.[a] At the carnival of 1496, the boys of the city, whose disorderly behaviour at that season had formerly defied the authority of the magistrates, were brought by the friar's influence to enlist themselves in the service of religion; and, instead of extorting money to be spent in riotous festivity, they modestly collected alms which were employed in works of mercy under the direction of a charitable brotherhood.[b]

Within the convent of St. Mark, Savonarola, as prior, had introduced a thorough reformation. There was a

[u] Schröckh, xxxii. 553.

[x] Vill. i. 296-7; and Doc. pp. 229, 254, 296, etc.

[y] Picus, 116, 122; Burlam. 552; Nardi, i. 84; Perr. i. 226.

[z] Picus, 117; Burlam. 549; Perr. i. 156-8, 162-3, 167; Vill. i. 328; Milman, 42.

[a] Burlam. 550.

[b] Ib. 536-7; Perr. i. 168-72; Vill. i. 371-3.

return to the earlier simplicity of food and dress. All use of gold or silver in crucifixes and other ornaments was forbidden. Schools were established, not only for the study of Scripture in the original languages, but for painting, calligraphy, and illumination; and the practice of these arts contributed much to defray the expenses of the society.[e] The number of brethren had increased from about fifty to two hundred and thirty-eight, of whom many were distinguished for their birth, learning, or accomplishments;[f] and among the devoted adherents of the prior were some of the most eminent artists of the age,—such as Bartholomew or Baccio della Porta, who after Savonarola's death entered the brotherhood of St. Mark's,[g] and is famous under the name of Fra Bartolommeo; the architect Cronaca; the painters Botticelli[f] and Credi; the family of Della Robbia, eminent in sculpture;[g] the sculptor Baccio of Montelupo; and, above all, Michael Angelo Buonarroti, who even to old age used to read the sermons of Savonarola, and to recall with reverence and delight his tones and gestures.[h]

But Savonarola's course was watched with unfriendly eyes.[i] The partisans of the Medici were hostile to him; for in a sermon he had plainly recommended that any one who should attempt to restore the tyranny of the banished

[e] Picus, 118-19, 121; Vill. i. 152; Perr. l. i. c. 5.

[f] Marchese, ii. 21, 28; Vill. i. 329; Perr. l. c.

[g] It is said that he showed his attachment to Savonarola by refusing to use his pencil for four years after his death. (Vasari, vii. 154-7; Crowe-Cavalcaselle, iii. 432.) One of Bartolommeo's earliest works is a portrait of Savonarola, lately brought to light from under another painting (ib. 433).

[f] Botticelli is said to have written a life of Savonarola, which is now lost. Marchese, iii. 186.

[g] Ib. i. 381. Luca della Robbia, the most famous of this family, and inventor of a peculiar style of art, had died in 1481.

[h] Vasari, vii. 207; viii. 121; x.i. 276; Vill. i. 469-70, who shows that M. Rio ('De l'Art Chrétien,' t. ii. cc. 12-13) is fanciful in representing Savonarola as the head of a school of that kind of art to which M. Rio would confine the title of Christian: although he strongly insisted that art ought to be religious, there was nothing reactionary in the art of his followers. Cf. Madden, i. 405, seqq.; Marchese, i. 382, seqq.

[i] Giesel. II. iv. 473.

family should lose his head.[k] The arrabbiati were bitterly opposed to him, and they enlisted on their side the power of Lewis the Moor, and his influence with the pope.[l] The clergy, and especially those of high position in the church, were indignant at his assaults on their manner of life; monks and friars—some of them even of his own order—were exasperated by his reproofs of their degeneracy.[m] Frequent complaints were carried to Rome, where one Marianus of Genezzano, a Franciscan, who in Savonarola's earlier days had been his rival for fame as a preacher, was busy in representing him as a dangerous man;[n] and as early as July 1495, the prior of St. Mark's was invited by Alexander to a conference on the subject of his prophetic gifts. But although the invitation was very courteously expressed, and was accompanied by compliments as to his labours,[o] he was warned by his friends that it was not to be trusted;[p] he therefore excused himself on the ground that his health had suffered from over-exertion, and that, in the circumstances of the time, his presence was considered necessary at Florence.[q] Further correspondence took place, in which the pope's blandishments were soon exchanged for a threatening tone, and Savonarola was denounced by him as a "sower of false doctrine"; while Savonarola, although he maintained the reality of his inspirations, endeavoured to explain his claims to the prophetical character in an inoffensive sense.[r]

July 21, 1495.

July 31.

He was charged to refrain from preaching, and for a

[k] Villari, i. 276.

[l] Burlam. 551; Villari, i. 311.

[m] Picus, 118.

[n] Burlam. 536; Villari, i. 355-6, ii. 23; Doc. No. xli. See Perrens, i. 10-12.

[o] "Che ti vedremo con amore e con carità," etc. Villari, Doc. xxiv.

[p] Ib. i. 356-8.

[q] Ib. 362; Doc. xxv.

[r] Ib. i. 362-4, 432-3. He refers the pope to his 'Compendium Revelationum,' which had just been printed (Florence, 1495). In this he seems to claim inspiration and divine commission. See Villari, i. 298.

time obeyed, employing himself chiefly in the composition of books, while his place in the pulpit was supplied by one of his most zealous adherents, Dominic of Pescia.[s] But the solicitations of his friends, and his own feeling as to the necessities of the time, induced him to resume his preaching, as he considered the inhibition to have been issued on false grounds, and therefore to be invalid.[t] He now thundered against the vices of the Roman court, and denounced vengeance which was to come on them.[u] He pointed to a general council as the remedy, and declared that it might depose unworthy prelates—even the pope himself, whose election, as it had been effected by notorious bribery, Savonarola regarded as null and void.[x] He taught that property might lawfully be held by the church, for otherwise St. Sylvester would not have accepted it; but that the present corruptions of the church proved the expediency of resigning it.[y] In the hope of silencing and gaining so formidable a man, Alexander employed an agent to sound him as to the acceptance of promotion to the cardinalate; but Savonarola indignantly declared from the pulpit that he would have no other red hat than one dyed with the blood of martyrdom.[z]

July 28—Oct. 11, 1495.

Among the charges against Savonarola was that of having surreptitiously procured a papal order by which the Tuscan Dominicans were separated from the Lombard congregation.[a] The matter was discussed until, feeling that on his independence depended the validity of his reforms, he avowed that, in case of extremity, he must resist the pope, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to the

[s] Nardi, i. 78; Villari, i. 365.

[t] Burlam. 553; Villari, i. 394.

[u] Ib. 384-5; ii. 2, seqq.

[x] Ib. i. 395. He urged Charles of France by letters. Cf. Baluz. i. 584.

[y] Villari, ii. 5.

[z] Burlam. 538; Villari, i. 423.

[a] See Marchese, iii. 138; Villari, i. 443-4, 447-9; and Doc. Nos. x.-xiii. The order (Doc. xi.) is dated May 22, 1493. Cf. Perrens, i. 84-90.

face. Thus he was brought into direct conflict with the papacy; and he was ordered to refrain from preaching, either in public or within his convent, until he should have obeyed the papal summons to Rome.[b]

At the approach of the carnival of 1497, Savonarola resolved to carry further the reform which he had attempted in the preceding year. For some days the boys who were under his influence went about the city, asking the inhabitants of each house to give up to them any articles which were regarded as vanities and cursed things;[c] and these were built up into a vast pile, fifteen stories high—carnival masks and habits, rich dresses and ornaments of women, false hair, cards and dice, perfumes and cosmetics, books of sorcery, amatory poems and other works of a free character, musical instruments, paintings and sculptures—all surmounted by a monstrous figure representing the Carnival.[d] A Venetian merchant offered the signory 20,000 crowns for the contents of the heap; but the money was refused, and he was obliged to contribute his own picture to the sacrifice.[e] It is said that Baccio della Porta cast into the heap a number of his academic drawings from the nude figure, and that Lorenzo di Credi and other artists of Savonarola's party imitated the act.[f] On the morning of the last day of the carnival Savonarola celebrated mass. A long procession of children and others, dressed in white, then wound through the streets, after which the pyre was kindled, and its burning was accompanied by the singing of psalms and hymns, the sounds of bells, drums, and trumpets, and the shouts of an enthusiastic multitude, while the signory looked on from a balcony. The money

Feb. 7.

[b] Nardi, i. 109; Villari, i. 437. 449.

[c] "Anathema," Picus, 117; Villari, i. 460.

[d] Burlam. 558; Picus, 117; Nardi, i. 98-100; Villari, i. 461.

[e] Burlam. 558. We may suspect that this merchant of Venice had more of Shylock than of Antonio in him.

[f] This story, which comes from Vasari (vii. 153), is questioned by Villari, i. 469.

collected by the boys and made over to the brotherhood of St. Martin exceeded the amount which that society usually received in a year.[g] But although Savonarola was delighted with the success of his project,[h] the errors of judgment which he had shown in investing children with the character of censors and inquisitors, in employing them to inform against their own relations, and otherwise introducing dissension into families, in confounding harmless and indifferent things with things deeply vicious and sinful, in sanctioning the destruction of precious works of literature and art—such errors could not but tend to alienate the minds of men in general, while they furnished his enemies with weapons against him.[i]

The opposition of these enemies was becoming more and more bitter, and showed itself in various forms—lampoons, charges of designs against the state, and attempts at personal violence. As he was preaching on Ascension-day, a violent attack was made on him; but he was saved by some of his friends, who closed around the pulpit, and were able to carry him off to his convent.[k] In consequence of this he abstained from preaching for a time.[l]

May 4.

The pope's anger against Savonarola became also more and more exasperated. On the 12th of May was issued

[g] Burlam. 558; Nardi, i. 100; Villari, i. 461-2.

[h] Burlam. 558.

[i] Nardi, i. 160-1; see Perrens, i. 170-4, 252-3. Savonarola had attempted at an earlier time to get the archbishop's sanction for a bonfire of vanities (ib. 249). We have already seen that the idea was not new (pp. 7, 195), although Savonarola's biographers do not mention the examples of Bernardine of Siena and John of Capistrano. Villari labours (i. 462, seqq.), with a zeal which is sometimes rather amusing than persuasive, to vindicate Savonarola from charges of Vandalism in connexion with this affair; to which has been attributed, whether rightly or wrongly, the disappearance of some noted sculptures, etc., and of all but a few copies of some early editions, such as Valdarfer's Boccaccio, of which the only known perfect copy fetched 2260*l.* at the duke of Roxburgh's sale in 1812. Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, i. 994-5.

[k] Nardi, i. 112; Villari, ii. 16-21; Doc. xxxv.

[l] Vill. ii. 21. See the 'Apologia J. F. Pici Mirand. nepotis pro Hieron. Savonarolæ viri prophetici Innocentia.' No date.

a sentence of excommunication, grounded chiefly on the prior's disobedience to the orders for the reunion of his convent with the Tuscan congregation;[m] and on the 22nd of June this sentence was solemnly pronounced, with bells and lighted tapers, in the cathedral of Florence.[n] Savonarola withdrew into his convent, while a conflict as to the merits of his case was kept up by preachers on either side.[o] During this time he employed himself much in composition, and to it belongs his chief work, "The Triumph of the Cross."[p]

The death of the duke of Gandia soon after furnished him with an opportunity for addressing to the pope a letter of consolation and of admonition as to the reforms which Alexander, under the pressure of that calamity, professed a wish to undertake.[q] But although the pope appeared to receive the letter favourably, it would seem that he afterwards regarded it as an offensive intrusion.[r] July 1.

In the beginning of August a conspiracy in the interest of the Medici was discovered,[s] and five of the principal citizens, among whom was Bernard del Nero, a man of seventy-five, who had held the highest offices in the state, were convicted and sentenced to death. An appeal to the great council was violently refused, because it was feared that in that body they might find interest sufficient to save them; and they were beheaded in the night which followed their condemnation.[t] Aug. 21.

[m] Nardi, i. 110; Villari, ii. 25-6, and Doc. xxix., xxxvi.

[n] Ib. ii. 28. A deprecatory letter from Savonarola to the pope, May 22, has been generally regarded as an answer to the excommunication. But the bull, although dated on the 12th of May, was accidentally delayed on its way, and did not reach Florence until after the date of the letter (Ib. 24). There is another letter, addressed to all Christians, June 19.

[o] Guicc. 235.

[p] Villari, ii. 62-75; Perrens, ii. 211-13.

[q] See p. 261; Perrens, i. 276; and Doc. ix.

[r] Villari, ii. 32.

[s] Ib. 41-2, and Doc. xxxiii.

[t] Guicc. 228; P. Jov. Vita Leonis X., 20; Nardi, i. 117; Villari, ii. 42-52, and Doc. xxxviii., xxxix.; Sism. ix. 189-91; Perrens, i. 280.

This was the work of Savonarola's partisans, and both he and they suffered in general estimation by the refusal to the accused of the right of appeal, which had been allowed in the constitution established by Savonarola himself.[u] But it would seem that, in his excommunicated and secluded state, he took no part in the affair beyond interceding—coldly, as he himself says—for one of the conspirators.[x]

On Septuagesima Sunday, in the following year, he resumed preaching at the request of the signory. The archbishop's vicar general, a member of the Medici family, forbade attendance at his sermons, but was induced by a threat from the signory to withdraw his prohibition.[y] But this body of magistrates was changed every second month; and, as its elements varied from time to time, Savonarola, after having often enjoyed its support, was at length to experience its fatal hostility.[z] His preaching was now more vehement than ever; he launched out against the pope's exaggerated claims, against the vices of the Roman court and its head, against the abuse of excommunication,[a] as to which he even prayed in the most solemn manner that, if he should seek absolution from the unjust sentence pronounced against him, he might be made over to perdition.[b] He urged strongly, as he had urged by letters to sovereign princes, the necessity of a general council as a remedy for the disorders of the church.[c] It would appear from some of his expressions

[u] Guicc. 228; Nardi, i. 61; Sism. ix. 163; Perrens, i. 281.

[x] "Freddamente," Villari, ii., Doc. p. 295. Villari defends him—not altogether successfully, as appears to me—from the blame which, from the time of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, has been thrown on him in connexion with this affair, ii. 52-5. (See a note on 'Romola, by George Eliot,' Book III. c. xii.)

[y] Nardi, i. 120-1; Perrens, ii. 295-6; Villari, ii. 76.

[z] Ib. ii. 91.

[a] Guicc. 234; Perrens, i. 298, seqq., 311; Villari, ii. 76, 83.

[b] "O Signor mio, se io mi faccio assolvere da questa scomunica, mandami al inferno." Ib. 78.

[c] 'Vulnera Diligentis,' in Villari, Doc. ii. pp. 246, 274-6, 291; ib. 106-10; Perrens, i. 314. One of these letters,

that he expected a miracle to be wrought in behalf of his doctrine.[d] At the approach of Lent he repeated the "burning of vanities"; but, although the value of the things consumed was said to be greater than on the former occasion,[e] the procession did not pass off so quietly, as the boy-censors, in the course of their movements about the city, were insulted and roughly handled by the compagnacci.[f]

After the burning Savonarola's followers returned in procession to St. Mark's, where in front of the convent they planted a cross, around which they danced wildly[g] in three circles, composed of friars, clergy, and laymen, young and old, chanting strange verses composed by one of the party.[h] That Savonarola tolerated a repetition of these frantic scenes, by which his party had incurred just obloquy two years before,[i] is a proof of the high state of enthusiasm to which he had been excited.

About this time one Francis of Apulia, a member of that division of the Franciscans which, from wearing wooden shoes, had the name of *zoccolanti*, challenged Savonarola to the ordeal of fire, as a test of the truth of his doctrine.[k] For himself, he said that, being but a sinner, he must expect to be burnt, but that he would gladly give his life to expose Savonarola as a sower of scandals and errors.[l]

which denounced Alexander forcibly, was intercepted by Lewis the Moor, and forwarded to the pope, who did not forgive it. Vill. ii. 112.

[d] Nardi, i. 127; Villari, ii. 78-9; cf. 83-4.

[e] Among them was a copy of Petrarch, which from its embellishments and golden ornaments, was worth 50 crowns. Burlam. 559; Nardi, i. 122.

[f] Burlam. 559; Nardi, i. 124; Villari, ii. 84; Perrens, i. 304.

[g] "Lasciata ogni sapienza umana." Burlam. 559.

[h] Ib.; Perrens, i. 306; Villari, ii. 85.

[i] Viz., at the end of Lent 1496. See Perrens, i. 232-3, for Savonarola's defence of the dancing on that occasion.

[k] Picus, 128; Violi in Villari, Doc p. 188. Burlamacchi says that Savonarola had proposed the ordeal, but found no one to accept the challenge (559; see Guicc. 255, Villari, ii. 114), and that he had proposed to raise a dead man. 554. See Perrens, i. 326-7; Milm. 61.

[l] Picus, 129; Villari, ii. 113. Wadding (xv. 161-5) defends the Francis-

The challenge was accepted by Dominic of Pescia,[m] who had already been engaged in disputes with the Franciscan at Prato, and, in his devotion to Savonarola, believed him capable of performing miracles.[n] Savonarola himself discouraged the ordeal, because he considered that the truth of his teaching and prophecies, and the nullity of his excommunication, were sufficiently proved by other means; he declared that he had other and better work to do; yet he evidently expected that, if such a trial should take place, it would result in the triumph of his cause.[o] Objections were raised, but were silenced by a reference to the famous case of Peter the Fiery, of which Florence itself had been the scene four centuries earlier.[p]

Francis of Apulia refused to encounter any other champion than Savonarola himself, to whom alone his challenge had been addressed; while, on the other side, not only all the Dominicans of St. Mark's and of Fiesole, but a multitude of men, women, and even children, entreated that they might be allowed to make the trial.[q] At length it was settled that a Franciscan named Rondinelli should be opposed to Dominic of Pescia, and that the ordeal should take place on the 7th of April—the day before Palm Sunday.[r] The propositions as to which the Divine judgment was thus to be invoked were these:—that the church was in need of renewal; that it would be chastised and renewed; that Florence also would pass through chastisement to renovation and prosperity; that the unbelievers would be converted to Christ; that all

cans from the accusations of Bzovius as to having persecuted Savonarola.

[m] Nardi, i. 127; see p. 284.

[n] Picus, 129; Villari, ii. 113, and Doc. 316, 325, etc.; Violi, ib. 189.

[o] Burlam. 561; Perrens, i. 330-1; Villari, ii. 120-1. See Bayle, art. *Savonarole*, n. G.

[p] Schröckh, xxxiii. 561. (See vol. iv. p. 280.)

[q] Burlam. 559-61; Picus, 129; Nardi, i. 129; Burchard, in Eccard, ii. 2088-90; Villari, ii. 114, 117, 121.

[r] Burch. 2092, Villari, Doc. pp. 401-3; Burlam. 559.

these things would take place during that generation; and, finally, that the excommunication of Savonarola was a nullity.[s]

On the appointed day, the Place of the Signory, where precautions had been carefully taken for the prevention of any tumult, was filled by an immense multitude of spectators. Two heaps of combustible matter had been piled up for the purpose of the trial; they were forty yards long, two yards and a-half in height, and separated by a passage one yard wide.[t] But the eagerness of the crowd was to be disappointed. For hours a discussion was carried on in consequence of objections raised by the Franciscans that Savonarola's party and their champion might make use of magical charms.[u] The wearisome dispute was still in progress, when a heavy shower fell; and at length the signory forbade the ordeal.[x] The multitude, tired, hungry, drenched, vexed by the tedious wrangling, and at last finding themselves baulked of the expected spectacle, while they did not know on whom to lay the blame, broke out against Savonarola. It was with difficulty that some of his friends were able to conduct him, carrying the holy eucharist in his hands, through a crowd which loaded him with insulting language, to his convent.[y]

Everything seemed now to turn against him. The secular clergy, as well as the monks, had been alienated from him.[z] Two days later St. Mark's was besieged by

[s] Burch. 2088; Nardi, i. 128; Villari, ii. 116.

[t] Nardi, i. 130; Burlam. 562; Villari, ii. 128.

[u] Picus, 129; Burchard. 2093; Nardi, i. 130; Benedett. in Villari, ii. 131-2, 228-33; Violi, ib. 194-5; Guicciard. 235; Burlam. 563; Perrens, i. 340, seqq., who thinks that both parties acted with artifice.

[x] Nardi, i. 131; Villari, ii. 232-3; Violi, ib. 196; Perrens, i. 342.

[y] Nardi, i. 132, 137, 139; Burch. 2093; Burlam. 563; Vulnera Diligentis, in Villari, ii. 239. It was afterwards remarked that the day was that of Charles VIII.'s death. Guicc. 233; Nardi, i. 139.

[z] Violi, in Vill. ii. 198-200; Picus, 130; Burlam. 564-5; Burchard, 2093; Nardi, i. 134-6; Perrens, i. 359-60; Villari, ii. 138, 145-58, and Doc. p. 342.

a mob, and, on its surrender,[a] the prior and Dominic of Pescia were committed to prison.[b] Savonarola's partisans were attacked and proscribed; some of them were tumultuously murdered; a commission of men hostile to him was appointed to investigate his case;[c] and throughout a month he was frequently subjected to torture. His nervous system, naturally delicate, and rendered more sensitive by his ascetic exercises, was unable to bear the agonies which were inflicted on him;[d] he confessed whatever was desired, and, when the torture was over for the time, retracted the avowals which had been wrung from him. "When I am under torture," he said, "I lose myself, I am mad; that only is true which I say without torture."[e] Many questions related to his claims to the character of a prophet; and as to these he talked wildly and inconsistently—insisting at first on the reality of his visions, but afterwards, in his despair, appearing to give up his pretensions.[f]

April 11.

While the pope repeated the request which he had before urged, that Savonarola should be sent to Rome, the magistrates of Florence, from a regard to the dignity of the republic, desired that his punishment should take place on the scene where his offences had been committed.[g] To this the pope at length consented, and sent the general of the Dominicans and another as his commissioners, before whom the examination was resumed.[h] It was impossible to convict the accused of any unsoundness as to faith, and it appears that, in order to give a colour for charges of heterodoxy, the acts of the process were falsified.[i]

May 19.

[a] Nardi, i. 123. [b] Burlam. 565.
[c] Picus, 131; Burlam. 566; Villari, ii. 159, and Doc. 405, seqq.
[d] Ib. ii. 158; see Schröckh, xxxiii. 566.
[e] Violi, in Villari, ii. 218-20; Benedetto, ib. 238; Doc. pp. 292-6; Guicc. 236; Nardi, i. 140-1.
[f] Villari, ii. 160-2, 165; Violi, ib. 213; Schröckh, xxxiii. 567.
[g] Nardi, i. 122, 137, 140; Villari, ii. 183-4. 185-7.
[h] Picus, 133; Burlam. 568; Villari, ii. 195-7.
[i] Picus, 132; Violi in Villari, ii. 202,

But the judgment of the court had been predetermined. On the 22nd of May, Savonarola, with Dominic of Pescia and Sylvester Maruffi (who had been associated with them in prison), was sentenced to be hanged and burnt. Dominic, with his characteristic zeal, declared himself eager to be burnt alive; but Savonarola, on being informed of this, reproved him for wishing to exercise his choice in such a matter.[k]

On the following day the sentence was carried out in the Place of the Signory, which was occupied by crowds as numerous as those which a few weeks before had gathered there for the expected ordeal.[l] The duty of degrading the victims was imposed on Pagagnotti, bishop of Vaison,[m] who had formerly been a friar of St. Mark's. In his grief and agitation the bishop mistook the form, and said to Savonarola, "I separate thee from the church triumphant." "From the militant," said Savonarola, correcting him, "not from the triumphant, for that is not thine to do."[n]

After the execution of the sentence, such remains of the bodies as could be found were thrown into the Arno: yet relics of Savonarola were preserved with veneration among his adherents, who even believed them to work miracles, and eagerly traced in the events of the following years the fulfilment of their master's prophecies.[o]

seqq., 211, 221-2; Bened. ib. 236-40; Burlam. 566-7; Guicc. 236; Rudelbach, 257; Villari, ii. 163-4, 169, and Doc. li.; Giesel. II. iv. 476. The various documents of the process are given by Villari. See also Baluz. Miscell. iv.

[k] Burlam. 569 (who represents Savonarola as having got his knowledge by supernatural means); Picus, 134. The St. Mark's brotherhood in general deserted the prior, and were willing to make their peace with Rome by sacrificing him. Perrens, i. 376, and Append. xvii., xviii.; Villari, ii. 181-2.

[l] Burlam. 570; Guicciard. 236.

[m] See Gallia Christiana, i. 934.

[n] Picus, 135. This seems to be the true version of the story, although some writers represent the bishop as having named the militant as well as the triumphant church. See Burlam. 580; Nardi, i. 143; Bened. in Villari, Doc. p. 244; Rudelb. 271; Villari, ii. 207.

[o] Burlam. 570-1; see Comines, iii. 227-8. The biographer Pico believed that he possessed a piece of Savonarola's heart, which had been fished out

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER VI. TO THE END OF THE FIFTH COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN.

A.D. 1503-1517.

CÆSAR BORGIA had supposed himself (as he told Machiavelli) to have provided for all the contingencies which might occur on his father's death, with a view to controlling the election of the next pope, and of securing for

of the river, and that it drove out devils (136-7; Burlam. 571; Villari, ii. 212). For the persecutions to which the *piagnoni* were subjected, see Nardi, i. 144-7. Although the party spirit of monachism has assailed Savonarola's orthodoxy, it has generally been regarded in the Roman church as unimpeachable. His 'Triumph of the Cross' was repeatedly published by the Jesuits, and was used as a textbook in the college of the Propaganda. (Perrens, ii. 241.) His cell was turned into a chapel, and the members of his own community paid him the honours due to a martyr. (Quétif-Echard, i. 884-5; Villari, ii. 220-1; cf. Mansi in Rayn. xi. 300-1.) Papebroch was uncertain whether he ought to be admitted into the 'Acta Sanctorum,' as a beatified person. (Giesel. II. iv. 476.) Of the popes, it is said that Julius II., and even Alexander VI., declared him worthy of canonization (Burlam. 578); and that Benedict XIV. was of a like opinion. (See Perrens, i. 394-7.) Under Pius IV. his writings were examined, and were declared blameless, with the exception of the 'De Veritate Prophetica,' and of some sermons in which he had attacked the popes and the Roman court; and it was only on the ground of possible misinterpretation that these were forbidden. (Ib. 196, 395-6.) The first great assault on him was by one of his own order, Catharinus, in 1548. (Schröckh, xxxiii. 574.) The commentary on Psalm li., composed between his first and last examinations (April—May, 1498; Burlam. 566), had already gone through many editions, when Luther, in 1523, reprinted it, and claimed the author as a precursor. (Werke, xxii., Anhang, 81, ed. Leipz. 1734; Schröckh, xxxiii. 572.) In this character he is represented on the great Luther monument at Worms; and he has been often regarded as a protestant—*e. g.*, by Rudelbach (b. iii. c. 3). It is, however, only in his character of a *practical* reformer that he can be considered as having prepared the way for the great movement which began twenty years after his death. He had no anti-hierarchical theories, such as those of Marsilius, Occam, or Wyclif; and in all respects, including the doctrine of the eucharist, he was in accordance with the orthodoxy of his time. (See Villari, ii. 4, 190-2; Gregorov. vii. 417.) It is amusing to contrast with the tone now prevalent (which is perhaps in some cases too regardless of Savonarola's very serious defects) the language of

himself the power which fortune and skill had combined to put into his hands.[a] But his calculations were frustrated by the circumstance that, at the time of Alexander's death, Cæsar was himself disabled for action by the illness which had seized him in the vineyard of the Vatican.[b] He contrived, however, while on his sick-bed, to enter into an agreement with the Colonna family, for the purpose of strengthening himself against the opposition of the Orsini, who had seized the occasion to make threatening demonstrations.[c] In the meantime the Roman populace, in vengeance for the insolence of the Spaniards under the late pontificate, attacked their houses and destroyed their property; and the city was a scene of tumult, plunder, and slaughter.[d] As the Vatican quarter and the fortress of St. Angelo were occupied by Cæsar's soldiery, the cardinals, thirty-eight in number, met in the Dominican church of St. Mary *sopra Minerva*, and refused to go into conclave until they were assured that these troops should be removed, and that the French army should approach no nearer than Nepi.[e] Their wish as to the French was effected through the influence of cardinal d'Amboise, who avowedly put himself forward as a candidate for the papacy, and brought with him to the election Ascanius Sforza, whom he had gained to his interest by releasing him from his French prison, and by entertaining him honourably for the last two years.[f] But it soon appeared that d'Amboise could barely reckon on a

Roscoe:—"It requires not any great discernment to perceive that Savonarola united in himself those exact proportions of knavery, talents, folly, and learning, which, combining with the insanity of superstition, compose the character of a fanatic, the motives and consequences of whose conduct are perhaps no less obscure and inexplicable to himself, than they are to the rest of mankind." Life of Leo X. i. 162.

[a] Machiav. Legazione al Duca Valent. c. 21; Principe, c. 7.

[b] Guicciard. 382.

[c] Ib.; R. Volaterr. 826.

[d] Guicc. l. c.; R. Vol. 826; Panvin. 363.

[e] Guicc. 382, 386; R. Volat. 826; Panvin. 363; Rayn. 1503. 12, seqq.

[f] Guicc. 385.

third part of the college as his supporters; and the cardinals, surprised and perplexed by the suddenness of the late pope's death, resolved to choose one who should not only be free from party ties, but whose age and infirmity might seem to promise another speedy vacancy. On the 22nd of September the election fell on Francis Piccolomini, who, in memory of his uncle Pius II., styled himself Pius III.[g] The new pope was sixty-four years old; he had been promoted to the cardinalate by his uncle in 1460,[h] and was regarded as the most respectable member of the college, which had been greatly sunk in character by Alexander's simoniacal and scandalous appointments.[i]

Rome and the ecclesiastical states were still in a condition of disturbance. Nobles of the Campagna repossessed themselves of lands which had been taken from them by the duke of Valentinois; the cities of Romagna invited their expelled lords to return, or these returned uninvited to resume their power. The Venetians invaded Romagna, and made themselves masters of Faenza and other places.[k] By entering into an alliance with the French, Cæsar Borgia provoked the Spanish general Gonsalvo to order that all the Spaniards who were in his service should leave it. The duke renewed the contest with his old enemies the Orsini, but was driven to withdraw into the Vatican and the adjoining quarter, where he endeavoured to fortify his position. By these disorders the pope was compelled to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, where he died after a pontificate of six-and-twenty days.[l]

This short interval between two vacancies of the

[g] Guicc. 386; Rayn. 1503. 13-14. He had taken his uncle's family name instead of that of Todeschini.

[h] Rayn. 1460. 26-7; Ciac. iii. 210.

[i] Schröckh, xxxii. 444.

[k] Guicc. 383, 388, 390-2.

[l] Ib. 389; Sism. x. 26-30. It was said that a sore in one of his legs was poisoned through the contrivance of Petrucci, tyrant of Siena (Sism. x. 30), whose son, cardinal Petrucci, was charged with intending to take off Leo X. by similar means in 1517. Ib. xi. 102.

papacy had sufficed to ascertain the strength of parties in the college. D'Amboise, finding that he could not hope to be chosen, exerted himself in favour of the cardinal who was supposed to be the most devoted to the French interest, Julian della Rovere.[m] Ascanius Sforza was gained to the same side by the hope that his family might recover the duchy of Milan;[n] and, notwithstanding the long and open enmity between Julian and the Borgias —although Cæsar had made the eight Spanish cardinals[o] swear that they would elect no one but a partisan of his family—even Cæsar was induced, by expectations of recovering his territories, of confirmation in his office of standard-bearer, and of marrying his daughter to the future pope's nephew, to throw his influence into the scale of Julian.[p] Capitulations were drawn up, and an oath was taken to observe them; among other things, the future pope was within two years to assemble a general council for the reformation of the church.[q] Without having been shut up in conclave, thirty-seven out of thirty-eight cardinals voted for Julian, who, as pope, took the name of Julius—a name which had been borne by only one of his predecessors, the contemporary of Constantine and Athanasius.[r] The pope, whose earlier career has been noticed from time to time, was now sixty years old. He was regarded as a man of sincere and open character; even Alexander VI. allowed him this merit, while censuring him in other respects.[s] But it would seem that he sometimes traded unfairly on his reputation for honesty, as when, at the

Oct. 31.

[m] Guicc. 390. D'Amboise was rewarded by being appointed legate for France, Nov. 29. Burchard, in Eccard, ii. 2159.

[n] Ib.

[o] Of 36 cardinals, made by Alexander, 18 were Spaniards. R. Volaterr. 824.

[p] Burchard, in Eccard. 2159; Guicc. 390; Mariana, ii. 703.

[q] Rayn. 1503. 6.

[r] Guicc. 389; Schröckh, xxxii. 443. See cardinal Adrian of Corneto, in Gairdner's Richard III. and Henry VII. (Chron. and Mem.), ii. 121.

[s] "Mordendolo nelle altre cose." Guicc. 390.

election, he recommended himself to the French party by referring to his past conduct, and to the Spaniards by promising a different policy for the future.[t] His manner of life was not immaculate; he had an illegitimate daughter, whom he married to one of the Orsini; his amours had affected his constitution,[u] and his love of wine was notorious;[x] but, as compared with some of his late predecessors, his character and conduct might almost be styled decorous and respectable.

Cæsar Borgia had believed that, although not powerful enough to dictate the choice of a pope, he was able, through his influence with the Spanish cardinals, to prevent the election of any individual to the papacy; and he professed to regret the support which he had given to Julius as the only mistake that he had ever committed.[y] But, as in his prosperity he had never scrupled at any treachery, he was now to be the victim of other men's deceit.[z] Although his army was scattered by the Orsini and others,[a] he still retained about 400 or 500 soldiers, and formed a wild scheme for the recovery of Romagna

[t] Sism. x. 31; Martin, vii. 343.

[u] Panvin. 368.

[x] Murat. Ann. X. i. 84. Lewis XII. of France "volendo tassare l'ebrietà sua nota a ciascuno, disse che il Papa la sera dinanzi doveva essersi troppo riscaldato col vino." (Guicc. 444; cf. Bayle, art. *Jules II.*, n. L.) His love of wine is frequently mentioned in the dialogue entitled 'Julius Exclusus,' which is reprinted in the appendix to Jortin's Life of Erasmus, and in Münch's edition of the 'Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum.' In this bitter satire the pope appears at the gate of heaven, attended by a "genius," and demands admission. A conversation with St. Peter ensues, in which the unlikeness of Julius—in his ambition, love of war, and personal character—to the true pastor of the church is brought out, and at last he is not admitted. Erasmus and Ulrich v. Hutten have been charged with the authorship of the piece. Erasmus strongly denied it. (Append. Epp. 17.) Münch attributes it to Hutten (422), but Dr. Strauss believes that the initials originally attached to it, "F. A. F.," mean Faustus Andrelinus Foroliviensis, who was a partisan of Lewis XII. (Ulr. v. Hutten, i. 102.) Fr. Carpesanus describes Julius much as he appears in Raphael's picture,—"Dum domi forte sedens contractione supercilii nescio quid secum mussitaret."—and adds that by the habit of talking to himself he sometimes betrayed secrets. (1286.)

[y] Machiav. Il Principe, c. 7.

[z] Guicc. 394.

[a] Sism. x. 39.

by means of this little force. But, as he was about to embark at Ostia for Spezzia, he was arrested by the pope's order, and was detained in the Vatican until he consented to sign a document by which some fortresses, which still held out for him, were made over to Julius.[b] He then made his way by sea to Naples, and repaired to the camp of Gonsalvo, with whom he had secretly carried on negotiations. But, although he was received with a great show of honour, he was carefully guarded until the general should learn the Spanish king's pleasure respecting him; and, agreeably to Ferdinand's usual perfidy, he was arrested in defiance of the safe-conduct which he had received, was sent as a prisoner to Spain, and was imprisoned in the fortress of Medina del Campo.[c] From this confinement, after two years, he made his escape, and he was invested with a military command by his brother-in-law the king of Navarre, who had vainly interceded for him with Ferdinand. But in March 1507, his adventurous life was ended in a skirmish near Viana, within the diocese of Pampeluna, of which he had formerly been bishop, and on the anniversary of his institution to the see.[d] So utterly was the terror of the Borgias extinct (although Lucretia still lived as duchess of Ferrara), that a "Comedy of Duke Valentino and Pope Alexander" was acted in the ducal palace of Urbino, and that other scenes from the family story were already represented on the stage.[e]

Jan. 22, 1504.

April 1504.

May 26-7.

As Alexander's great object had been the establishment

[b] Guicc. 394, 411; Burchard, 2159-60; Hadr. de Corneto, in Gairdner's Richard III. and Henry VII. (Chron. and Mem.), ii. 121.

[c] Guicc. 412; Rayn. 1504. 13. As to Gonsalvo's share in this and other treacheries of Ferdinand, see Prescott, iii. 360, seqq. Lewis XII. said that after this the word of the Spaniards might be classed with the Punic faith. Mariana, ii. 727.

[d] Guicc. 451; Ciacon. iii. 174-5; Mariana, ii. 762.

[e] Dennistoun, Dukes of Urbino, ii. 31; Reumont, III. ii. 16.

of his family in the rank of territorial princes, that of Julius was to extend the temporal power of the papacy by recovering for it all that it had ever possessed, or could pretend to claim. And to this end he employed great skill, energy, tenacity of purpose, and even the talents of a general and the endurance of a soldier. He desired to reunite under the papacy all those fiefs which had been taken by Cæsar Borgia from their hereditary lords, and which since Cæsar's fall had again for the most part reverted to the old dominion, while part had been seized by the Venetians. The Venetians offered to give up all their acquisitions except Faenza, and to hold that territory under the same conditions of tribute as its former lords. But the pope for a time refused even to admit their ambassadors to his presence; and he utterly rejected their proposals.[f] In the end of August 1506, he set out from Rome for the purpose of reducing the fiefs of the church to obedience. Baglioni, a condottiere who had got possession of Perugia, submitted, and was allowed to continue. The Bentivogli were driven from Bologna; on St. Martin's day the pope made his triumphant entry into that city; and his return to Rome was greeted with a yet more imposing triumph.[g]

Aug. 27—Nov. 11.

The French had been driven out of Naples by Gonsalvo of Cordova, and the whole kingdom was now subject to Ferdinand.[h] The death of Isabella of Castile (November 26th, 1504), and that of her son-in-law the archduke Philip (September 25th, 1506), brought into nearer prospect the vastness of the power which was likely to be concentrated in the hands of the young Charles, the heir of Spain, Naples, Austria,

Dec. 1503.

Schröckh, xxxii. 451; Sism. x. 34, 55-9.

[g] Paris de Grassis, in Rayn. 1506. 30; Guicc. 446-7; Sism. x. 81-9. Erasmus was a witness of both. Gregorov. viii. 43-5.

[h] Mariana, ii. 675-714; Sism. x. 39-40, 46; Martin, vii. 346 7; Gairdner's Richard III. and Henry VII., ii. 124.

and the Netherlands; and Lewis of France was bent on averting the danger which seemed to threaten him from this cause.[l]

Maximilian, at a diet which assembled at Constance, told the German estates that it was necessary for him to be crowned as emperor at Rome, if the empire were to retain any influence in Italy. The promise of men which he received from the assembly—8000 horse and 27,000 foot for half a year—was unequal to his wishes and was imperfectly performed; but he set out on his expedition.[k] The Venetians, although they professed themselves willing to allow his passage through their territories, refused to admit his army.[l] There were signs of opposition from other quarters, and on entering Italy from the Tyrol he found himself compelled by enemies who beset his way to engage in a warfare which did not result in his favour.[m] The pope, in his desire to keep him at a distance, allowed him, by a special privilege, to assume the title of emperor without having gone through the ceremony of a coronation.[n] The army, ill-fed and unpaid, broke up; and Maximilian, after having concluded a treaty with the Venetians, returned to Germany.[o]

Aug. 1507.

Feb. 1508.

June 1508.

The republic of Venice was now at its greatest height of wealth and power, and the success of its prudent, selfish, and grasping policy had long excited a strong feeling of jealousy in other states.[p] Thus when Pius II. invited the Florentines to take part in the crusade, they had declined on the ground that whatever might be taken

[l] Schmidt, iv. 410.

[k] Guicc. 440, 474.

[l] Ib. 443, 483.

[m] Ib. 490.

[n] Ib. 488; Schmidt, iv. 415; Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 191.

[o] Guicc. 494; Martin, vii. 639; Ranke, i. 194-5.

[p] "Genus quidem hominum consilio, opibus, et amplo dominatu pollens; verum in augendo imperio, ubi ansam aliquam ad occupandum alienum jus nacti sunt, anxium; in aucto, pertinacissimum." Fr. Carpesan. 1261.

from the Turks would fall to the Venetians.[q] Julius, in a letter to Maximilian, spoke of them as encroaching, as aiming at supreme domination in Italy, and even at re-establishing for themselves the old imperial power;[r] and he had been especially offended by their rejecting one of his nephews, whom he had nominated to the see of Vicenza, and substituting a Venetian citizen, whom they required to style himself "bishop by the grace of the senate."[s] The emperor considered that the Venetians had formed their territory at the expense of the empire.[t] The French king was angry with them for having crossed his designs, for having craftily favoured the interest of Spain, and for having got possession of some places which had belonged to his duchy of Milan.[u]

Dec. 10. In December 1508, a treaty was concluded at Cambray between the archduchess Margaret, regent of the Netherlands, on the part of her father the emperor, and by cardinal d'Amboise as representative of France. Spain was to take part in the treaty, and d'Amboise, as legate, took it on him to promise the pope's concurrence.[x]

The treaty began by stating that the emperor and the French king, having resolved, at the pope's request, to make war against the Turks, held themselves bound to restrain the Venetians in their aggressions on the holy Roman empire and other Christian states; and it pledged the allied powers to hold by each other until each should have recovered whatever had been taken from it by the Venetians. For a time this treaty was kept secret from the power against which it was directed.[y]

Although Julius had special reasons for dissatisfaction with the republic, he yet felt strongly the inexpediency

[q] Schmidt, iv. 403.
[r] Ib. 402.
[s] Schröckh, xxxii. 452; Daru, iii. 310.
Schmidt, iv. 403; Sism. x. 140.
[u] Schmidt, iv. 404; Sism. x. 139-40.
[x] Guicc. 500; Mariana, ii. 780; Sism. Rép. Ital. x. 145; Martin, vii. 369; Daru, iii. 313-14.
[y] Ib. 315-16, 321; Sism. x. 147.

of admitting foreigners to exercise dominion in Italy. And the evil was the greater in proportion to the power of the French and the Spanish sovereigns, who had respectively possessed themselves of Milan and of Naples.[a] He dreaded the pretensions which might be advanced on the part of the empire as to Italy; he dreaded d'Amboise as one who was intriguing to succeed him—whom Lewis, by interfering in Italian affairs, might help to attain the papacy, in order that a French pope might transfer the imperial crown from Germany to France.[a] Hence, although in his enmity to pope Alexander he had himself been the first to bring the "barbarians" into Italy, the policy of his later years was directed chiefly to their expulsion. He therefore privately offered to make peace with the republic on condition that certain territories should be yielded up to him. But the Venetians, in reliance on their power of raising mercenary troops, and in the expectation that a league between parties widely differing in interests would soon break up of itself, declined the proposed terms; and Julius thereupon joined the league, undertaking to utter the censures of the church against the Venetians, so that Maximilian should be set free from the engagements which he had lately contracted with them.[b]

In the spring of 1509 Lewis began hostilities, and within seventeen days his forces had made themselves masters of all that he was entitled to claim under the treaty of Cambray.[c] The pope about the same time sent forth a "monitory" bull, in which he reproached the Venetians for encroachments and usurpations, for interfering with the rights of the church as to jurisdiction over

May.

April 27.

[a] Guicc. 586; Schmidt, iv. 420.

[a] This Julius himself said in a letter to the archduchess Margaret. Schmidt, iv. 423; Sism. Rép. Ital. x. 113-14, 148-9.

[b] Guicc. 503-6; Sism. x. 147.

[c] Sism. x. 152.

clerks and as to patronage of bishopricks, and for harbouring enemies of the apostolic see. He allowed them twenty-four days for submission and restitution; in case of their neglecting this opportunity he declared them to be under interdict, and that their persons and property might be seized and sold. The Venetians appealed to a general council, and found means to display their appeal on the doors of St. Peter's at Rome; and Julius pronounced an interdict against them.[d]

But the pope did not confine himself to the use of spiritual weapons. His troops, under the command of his nephew Francis della Rovere, duke of Urbino, marched into northern Italy, where they reduced Faenza, Rimini, Ravenna, and other places.[e] The Venetians, pressed by this invasion, by the French king, who inflicted on them a severe defeat near Agna-
May 14. dello,[f] and by the fear of preparations in which Maximilian was supposed to be actively engaged, made overtures to the pope for peace; but these were so ill received that the republic hesitated between submission to the father of Christendom and an alliance with the Grand Turk. But Julius dreaded lest the destruction of the republic should give the French king the sovereignty of all northern Italy; he was softened by the compliance of a power which had usually been so haughty; and, although the ambassadors of France and of the empire opposed a reconciliation, he listened to the intercession which Henry VIII. of England addressed to him through Bainbridge, archbishop of York.[g] The Venetians agreed to abandon their appeal, to give up all pretensions to ecclesiastical independence and to jurisdiction over the clergy.[h] Six citizens of high dignity were sent as ambas-

[d] Guicc. 513; Rayn. 1509. 14; Reumont, III. ii. 28; Daru, iii. 334.
[e] Guicc. 522.
[f] Daru, iii. 338-41.
[g] Guicc. 528; Roscoe, Leo. X., i. 243.
[h] Rayn. 1510. 1-6; Guicc. 555-6; Daru, iii. 351-3, 363-4, 379-82.

sadors to Rome, where they were required to enter by night, and were not greeted with any of the usual marks of honour.[j] Yet they were not obliged to submit to the full humiliation which had sometimes been inflicted on penitents. On prostrating themselves before the pope in the porch of St. Peter's, they were absolved with a simple injunction to visit the seven basilicas of Rome, and were at once received, "not as excommunicate or interdicted, but as good Christians and devoted sons of the apostolic see."[k] The pope himself had struck out the usual flagellation from the scheme which had been drawn up by his master of ceremonies.[l] Feb. 24, 1510.

Julius had quarrelled with the French king about the see of Avignon, which had become vacant by the death of a bishop while in attendance on the papal court. The pope attempted to exercise the patronage, but as Lewis declared this to be contrary to a late treaty, he was compelled to yield ungraciously.[m] The death of cardinal d'Amboise, in May 1510,[n] increased the ill-feeling which had arisen, as Julius claimed for the church the treasures which the minister-legate had accumulated.[o] The pope resolved to destroy, if possible, the French king's influence in Italy. He endeavoured to stir up troubles against him on the side of England and on that of Switzerland; and in the violence of his self-will he insisted that others, with whom he had hitherto acted, should follow him in his change of policy.[p] Hence, when Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, who was a feudatory of the papacy and had been one of his generals,

[j] Guicc. 540.

[k] Ib. 567; Rayn. 1510. 7-10.

[l] Rayn. l. c.

[m] Guicc. 553; Sism. Rép. Ital. x. 184, 192.

[n] Ciac. iii. 189, 228.

[o] Sismondi estimates these as equal to 55,000,000 francs in our own day (xi. 208). Julius is said, on hearing of the cardinal's death, to have exclaimed, "Thank God, I am now the only pope!" Martin, vii. 387.

[p] P. Jovius, Vita Leonis, 31; Schmidt, iv. 430; Sism. x. 211, 214-15.

refused to break off from the alliance against Venice, Julius declared that he had forfeited his fief, and refused to accept his tribute. He issued against him a bull of extraordinary violence,[q] repeated its denunciations in the customary curses of the holy week, and professed that for the ruin of this enemy he would risk his tiara and his life.[r] He declared that Lewis had forfeited his claim to the kingdom of Naples, and granted investiture in it exclusively to Ferdinand, whom he hoped by this favour to secure to his party.[s] He negotiated through Mathias Schinner, bishop of Sion in the Valais, with the Swiss, whom Lewis had offended by resisting their demands of increased pay and by speaking of them with disparagement; and he was allowed by their diet to raise as many soldiers as he might require from the confederation.[t]

Aug. 9, 1510.

July 3, 1510.

Lewis, although unwilling to quarrel with the pope, both from his own feeling and yet more on account of his queen's influence over him, found it necessary to act in self-defence. Falling back on a suggestion of his late minister d'Amboise, he convoked at Orleans a national assembly of prelates, doctors, and other learned men, which continued its deliberations at Tours.[u] The chancellor opened the proceedings by denouncing Julius as having attained the papacy by uncanonical intrigues, and having cruelly troubled Christendom by his love for war;[x] and the king submitted to the council eight questions, bearing on the lawfulness of resisting an aggressive pope by force. The answers were favourable to his wishes: it was declared that a pope

Aug.—Sept. 1510.

[q] In Rayn. 1510. 15,—where, however, the penalties are given in an abridged form. Cf. P. Jov. l. c.

[r] Guicc. 586, 588; Schmidt, iv. 432; Sism. x. 245-6.

[s] Guicc. 528; Rayn. 1511. 24-8.

[t] Guicc. 566, 571 (whose accoun of the Swiss is curious), pp. 686-3; P. Jov. Vita Leonis, 49; Sism. x. 201, 221.

[u] Guicc. 606; Richer, Hist. Conc. General. iv. 81.

[x] Guicc. l. c.; Giesel. II. iv. 183.

might not make war on a temporal prince except within the church's territory; that a prince might, in self-defence, invade the pope's territory, although not with a view of depriving him of it; that if a pope should stir up other powers against a prince, the prince might withdraw from his obedience, although only so far as might be necessary for the protection of his own rights; that in case of such withdrawal he ought to fall back on the ancient common law of the church and on the pragmatic sanction; that any censures unjustly uttered by popes were not to be regarded.[y]

While Lewis was thus endeavouring to fortify himself by the sanction of ecclesiastical law, the pope continued to proceed by forcible means. Neither age nor sickness could check his impetuosity.[z] At Bologna, where he had made his entry with great pomp on the 23rd of September,[a] he ordered that all who were able and willing to fight should be assembled in the market-place; and on being informed that their numbers amounted to 15,000 foot and 5000 horse, although he was suffering from a violent attack of fever, he rushed from his bed to a balcony, and pronounced his benediction on them.[b] Towards the end of October his life was despaired of;[c] but he recovered,[d] and notwithstanding the remonstrances of cardinals and

[y] Hard. ix. 1557; Richer, iv. 81; Preuves des Lib. 520. There are three versions of this paper; one of them prescribes appeals to a council as the remedy for difficulties. See Giesel. II. iv. 184.

[z] Guicc. 620. To this time belongs the well-known epigram:—

'In Gallum, ut fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum
Armatam educit Julius urbe manum;
Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem
Projicit, et sævus talia verba facit;
'Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad præda claves,
Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit.'"

It appears from Bayle, art. *Jules II.*, note F, that some writers have disputed whether these lines are to be taken as a statement of actual fact. A longer form of the epigram is given by Roscoe, Leo. X. i. 475.

[a] Guicc. 502.

[b] Sism. xv. 230.

[c] Ib. 232.

[d] Guicciardini says that at the end of 1510, Julius incurred some discredit by being suspected to have shared in an attempt to assassinate Soderini, gonfaloniere of Florence. See Roscoe, Leo. X., i. 252, 618.

ambassadors, who endeavoured to restrain him by a regard for his spiritual character, he set out in a litter for the siege of Mirandola. Arriving there on the 2nd of January 1511, he took up his abode in a peasant's hut, under the guns of the fortress.[e] He disregarded the frost, the heavy snow, the roughness and scantiness of his fare. He reproved the officers around him for their slowness; and while his pioneers fled from the discharge of the enemy's artillery, he himself superintended the pointing of his cannon, and gave orders for the discharge.[f] On returning to Mirandola, after a short intermission of the siege, he established himself in a little chapel, still nearer to the walls than his former quarters.[g] A plan laid by the famous Bayard for his capture would probably have been successful, but that a sudden snowstorm drove the pope and his party back to their cover before they had reached the point at which the French ambush was posted; and, on finding himself pursued in his return, Julius with his own hand assisted in raising a drawbridge over which he had just made his escape.[h]

Jan. 20.

Undaunted by hardships or danger, he persevered in the siege; and when at length Mirandola was taken, he refused to enter by the gate, and desired that a breach might be made in the wall, so that he might make his entry in the style of a conqueror, arrayed in helmet and cuirass.[i]

In Germany, as well as in France, there had been manifestations of discontent against the papacy. A

[e] Guicc. 617-18.

[f] Ib. 619; P. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1511. 46; Fr. Carpes. 1273.

[g] Guicc. 619.

[h] Mém. de Bayart, i. 345-8 (ed. Petitot).

[i] Ib. 393. The 'Loyal Serviteur,' who wrote these memoirs, says that the pope proposed to Alfonso of Ferrara to get rid of his French auxiliaries by treachery; that the duke then suggested to the agent that he should poison the pope: but that Bayard's expressions of horror, on being informed by Alfonso of a design which, to an Italian of that age, was quite of a familiar kind, diverted him from it. (Ib. 361-6.) This story, however, appears very questionable. See Sism. x. 241.

paper of ten "Grievances" had been drawn up, setting forth, among other things, the abuses of the Roman court as to dispensations, as to the rejection of bishops who had been duly elected, as to the reservation of the greater dignities and benefices for cardinals and papal protonotaries; as to expectancies, annates, patronage, and indulgences; as to the exaction of tenths under pretext of crusades which never took place; as to drawing of causes to Rome which ought to be decided on the spot.[k] A list of suggested "Remedies" followed; and a paper of "Advices to the Imperial Majesty" was annexed—recommending the establishment of a pragmatic sanction, similar to that of Bourges.[l] In consequence of these representations Maximilian took it on himself to issue an edict forbidding pluralities and simony, and desired James Wimpheling, a learned jurist, who was supposed to be the author of the *Gravamina*, to draw up a pragmatic sanction adapted to the circumstances of Germany.[m] A.D. 1510.

Negotiations were attempted between Maximilian and the pope through Matthew Lang, bishop of Gurk, who appeared at Bologna as imperial ambassador, and was received with great marks of honour.[n] But Julius was offended by the assumptions of the bishop, who, when three cardinals were sent to him, employed three gentlemen of his suite to meet them, as if no one but the pope himself were worthy to treat with the representative of the emperor;[o] and Lang, on withdrawing from the court, complained of the impossibility of moving the pope's "obstinate and diabolical pertinacity."[p] April.

[k] Fascic. Rer. Expet. et Fug. i. 334; Giesel. IV. ii. 185-6.

[l] Fascic. i. 336; Giesel. II. iv. 186-7.

[m] Ib. 188.

[n] Guicc. 635-6.

[o] Ib. 637; Sism. x. 244-6.

[p] Lettres du Roy Louis XII., quoted by Gieseler, IV. iv. 188. Cf. P. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1511. 57; M. Coccin. in Freher, ii. 269.

In consequence (it is said) of the death of a cardinal at Ancona, five of his brethren, among whom Carvajal, a Spaniard, was the leader,[q] refused to join the pope at Bologna, and obtained from the government of Florence permission to remain in that city.[r] By this the pope was greatly incensed, as he supposed their conduct to imply a charge of poison against him, and he expressed his dissatisfaction to the Florentines.[s] The cardinals removed from Florence to Milan, where they openly declared themselves in opposition to the pope. The French king had drawn the emperor into his wish for a general council; the two sovereigns applied to the pope, reminding him of the promise which he had made at his election, and telling him that, in case of his refusal, they would endeavour to accomplish their object by means of the cardinals; and they acted accordingly.[t]

There was some discussion as to the place where the council should be held; for while Maximilian wished it to be at Constance, Lewis proposed Lyons, and the Italian prelates insisted that, as reform was needed not only in the members, but in the head of the church, some Italian city would be most suitable.[u] On the 16th of May, three cardinals, in the name of themselves and of six others (by some of whom the act was afterwards disavowed),[x] issued a document summoning the council to meet on the 1st of September at Pisa—a place which was considered of good omen, as having been the scene of the council which deposed the antipope Anacletus,[y] and of that which, after deposing the rivals Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., elected Alexander V.[z] They announced this step to Julius, and charged him in the

[q] Guicc. 659.
[r] Ib. 606-7; Rayn. 1510. 19; Sism. x. 260.
[s] Ib.
[t] Ib. 266.
[u] Guicc. 643.
[x] Ib. 653; P. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1511. 7.
[y] See vol. v. p. 88.
[z] Guicc. 647; see vol. vii. pp. 353-7; Rayn. 1511. 5-6.

meantime to refrain from creating any new cardinals.[a] The emperor and the king of France severally issued their citations ;[b] but it was in vain that they endeavoured to gain the co-operation of Ferdinand, and Henry of England wrote in strong terms to Maximilian, expressing his horror at the possibility of a schism.[c]

In the meantime an insurrection broke out at Bologna. The bronze statue of Julius, lately executed by Michael Angelo, and erected in front of the cathedral, was thrown down, dragged about the streets with insult, and afterwards given to the duke of Ferrara, by whom it was melted into cannon.[d] The Bentivogli returned under French protection.[e] The cardinal-legate, Alidosi, whose government had been greatly detested, fled in disguise by night,[f] and made his way to Ravenna, where, on reporting his arrival, he was invited to the pope's table. But as he was on his way to the banquet, he accidentally met the pope's nephew, the duke of Urbino, who, after a vehement complaint that the legate had calumniated him to Julius as inclining to the French interest, drew out a dagger, and stabbed him mortally.[g] The pope, although greatly distressed by the murder, was afraid to inflict any punishment on his nephew, lest he should go over to the enemy.[h] He set out in deep grief

May 21.

[a] On March 10th, Julius, in order to strengthen himself, had made eight cardinals ; among them the English ambassador, archbishop Bainbridge, of York, and the bishop of Sion. Guicc. 635.

[b] Rayn. 1511. 12 ; Richer, iv. 177-82.

[c] Martin, vii. 395-6.

[d] Guicc. 644. See as to the statue, Vasari, xii. 186-8, 348 ; Perkins, 'Tuscan Sculptors,' ii. 29-30 ; Harford's Life of M. Angelo, i. 252. Alfonso was famous as a cannon-founder. Mém. de Bayart, in Petitot, xv. 358 ; Fleuranges, ib. xvi. 205.

[e] Sism. x. 251. [f] Guicc. 643.

[g] P. de Grassis, in Rayn. ; F. Carpesan. 1174 ; Mém. de Bayart, i. 366-7 ; Mariana, ii. 806 ; Dennist. ii. 326. P. de Grassis says that the cardinals approved of his death, although they blamed such an outrage against an ecclesiastic. Guicciardini (646) and Michael Canini (in Freher ii. 271) speak of Alidosi with strong reprobation. (See, too, Gregorov. viii. 64.) The murder was celebrated in a poem by Paul Giovio, who justifies it, and vituperates Alidosi. Elogia, 236 (Basil. 1596) ; Vita Leonis, 34.

[h] Rayn. 1513. 11. Yet Canini says,

for Rome, and on arriving at Rimini, he found the announcement of the Pisan council placarded on the door of the convent where he lodged.[l]

On the 16th of July the pope sent forth a bull summoning a rival council to meet in the church of St. John Lateran on Monday after Easter-week in the following year.[k] In this document he defended himself as to his performance of the engagements made at his election, professing to have been always zealously desirous of a general council, and to have endeavoured to gain the concurrence of temporal princes towards that object, although the fulfilment of his wishes had been prevented by public troubles. He compared the opposing cardinals to "acephalous locusts,"[l] threatened them with deposition from their dignities and preferments unless they would submit within sixty-five days, and interdicted Florence, Pisa, and all places in which the schismatical council should meet.[m] He laboured to stir up his allies against it, and at the expiration of the time of grace pronounced the refractory cardinals to be deposed, and subject to the penalties of heresy and schism.[n]

Oct. 24.

It soon became clear that the council of Pisa would be a failure. The emperor's promises of support proved to be delusive.[o] In laying the subject before a meeting of German prelates at Augsburg, he found that they were unwilling to take any part in the movement; and, although he sent a commissioner to be

Sept. 1.

"Cujus memoriæ pontifex subinde Romæ maledixit, quem tamen antea et honoribus et dignitate sublevaverat" (l. c.). A few months later, the pope, when dangerously ill, absolved his nephew, "non per via di giustitia, repugnando a questa la brevità del tempo, ma come penitente, per gratia ed indulgentia apostolica." Guicc. 660.

[i] D. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1511 7; Guicc. 646.

[k] Hard. ix. 1584. 93; Rayn. 1511. 9-15; cf. 24-9.

[l] Hard. ix. 1585. 17. Perhaps there is a reference to Prov. xxx. 27: "Regem locusta non habet."

[m] Rayn. 1511. 32; Guicc. 653-4, 658, 668.

[n] Ib. 668; Rayn. 1511. 35.

[o] Guicc. 658.

present at the opening, the members of the council were almost exclusively Frenchmen, who acted under constraint of their sovereign.[p] No confidence was placed in the cardinals, whose conduct in summoning the council was attributed to motives of personal ambition.[q] The French king himself is said to have afterwards avowed that the assembling of it was merely a device for rendering the pope more tractable.[r] The number of members was never considerable; it is said not to have exceeded four cardinals, who held proxies for three of their brethren; two archbishops, thirteen bishops, and five abbots; some doctors of law, among whom the most famous was Philip Decius (or Dexio), who vigorously defended the council with his pen; and a few representatives of universities.[s] On attempting to enter the cathedral of Pisa for the performance of the opening mass, they found the doors closed, and were obliged to resort to another church, although an order from the Florentine magistrates afterwards procured them admission to the cathedral.[t] The clergy of Pisa refused to lend them vestments, and left the city in obedience to the papal interdict. In the face of these circumstances the council, under Carvajal as president, affected to assert its authority by declaring that all that might be attempted against it by the pope or his cardinals should be null, and that it was not to be dissolved until the church should have been reformed in head and in members.[u] But the Florentines, alarmed by the pope's sentences and threats, became weary of allowing the rebellious assembly a place within their territory; and after three sessions the council

Nov. 1.

Sess. III., Nov. 12.

[p] Guicc. 678.

[q] Ib. 676; P. Jovius, Vita Leonis, 34.

[r] "Fabulam esse et declamatiunculam." Rayn. 1512. 11.

[s] Schröckh, xxxii. 469. Dexio's tracts in favour of the council are printed in Goldast, ii. 1667, seqq., and in Richer, IV. 39, seqq., 123, seqq., 146, seqq.

[t] Guicc. 677.

[u] Ib. 678; Richer, iv. 226.

took occasion from a street-affray between some servants of its members and some young men of Pisa, to remove to Milan.[x]

About this time Maximilian, whose mind was singularly fertile in wild designs,[y] conceived the strange idea of getting himself elected to the papacy.[z] This project appears to have been suggested by an illness of Julius, which was so serious that for a time he was believed to be dead, and cries were raised at Rome for the establishment of a republic.[a] But as the old man recovered in defiance of medical warnings and prescriptions,[b] Maximilian wished to be appointed his coadjutor, as a step towards being chosen as his successor. In order to obtain the consent of the Spanish king, he professed himself willing to resign the empire in favour of Charles, the grandson of both;[c] and he was ready to pledge his jewels and robes with the Fuggers, of Augsburg, the great money-dealers of the age, in order to raise funds for securing the votes of the cardinals. But the plan found no favour with Julius, and appears to have come to nought through its mere extravagance.

August.

The pope offered terms of reconciliation to Lewis; but, as he had foreseen, they were not accepted,[d] and he entered into a new alliance with Aragon and Venice. Of this "holy league" (as it was called), the declared objects were, to preserve the unity of the church against the pretended council

Oct. 9.

[x] Guicc. 677; Rayn. 1511. 42. The removal was voted on Nov. 12, and took place on Dec. 7 Richer, 228.

[y] Guicc. 652.

[z] A letter to his daughter Margaret (Sept. 18), in which he talks of becoming a pope, and then a saint, so that it would be her necessary duty to adore him, might be regarded as a jest; but there is other sufficient evidence to prove that the design was seriously entertained. See Gieseler, II. iv. 392; Döllinger, ii. 366; Martin, vii. 395-6; Gregorov. viii. 68.

[a] Guicc. 659; Gregorov. viii. 71.

[b] Guicc. 570.

[c] Schröckh, xxxii. 485.

[d] Martin, vii. 396-7.

of Pisa, to recover Bologna and other fiefs (among which Ferrara was understood to be included) for the Roman see, and to drive out of Italy all who should oppose these designs.[e] The concurrence of England is said to have been partly gained by a cargo of presents more novel than costly,—Greek wines, southern fruits, and other provisions, intended for the king and the chief persons of the kingdom, and conveyed on board of the first papal vessel that had ever anchored in the Thames.[f]

The French troops poured into Lombardy under Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours; and it is at this time that Lewis is commonly supposed to have met the papal threats of interdict by striking the medal which bears the motto *Perdam Babilonis Nomen*.[g] The council, which was sitting at Milan, professed to authorize Gaston, through its legate the cardinal of St. Severino, to occupy the States of the Church until St. Peter's chair should be filled by a lawfully-chosen pope.[h] Brescia, which had risen against the French, was taken, and the capture was followed by extraordinary excesses of spoliation, cruelty, and brutality.[i] But at the great battle of Ravenna, fought on Easter-day 1512, although the French general gained a brilliant victory over the allied Spanish and papal troops, he himself fell, at the age of twenty-four.[k] Among the prisoners taken by the French was the cardinal-legate of Bologna, John de' Medici, whom they carried off to

April 11.

[e] Sism. x. 272.

[f] Hume, iii. 374; Sism. x. 300. See Bayle, art. *Jules II.*, n. P.

[g] Giesel. II. iv. 191. We have, however, seen that there is ground for referring it to an earlier date (p. 269). The ingenious Father Hardouin supposed it to relate to a crusade, Babylon meaning Cairo! Giesel. l. c.

[h] Guicc. 704; Martin, vii. 404.

[i] Guicc. 698-9; Fr. Carpes. 1280; Mém. de Bayart, c. l.; Sism. x. 291-3. Bayard's own conduct towards the ladies in whose house he lay while wounded (c. li.) was a contrast to the general behaviour of his countrymen.

[k] Guicc. 715; P. Jov. Vita Leonis, 37, 46; Fr. Carpes. 1285; Mariana, l. xxx. c. 9; Sism. x. 307-15.

Milan. But there, when he offered the absolution which the pope had authorized him to bestow on all who would promise never again to bear arms against the church, his captors crowded around him, entreating his pardon and blessing; while the members of the antipapal council could not show themselves in the streets without being pursued with jeers, curses, and insulting gestures.[m] The French army, weakened by an order which the emperor had issued for the recall of the Germans who were serving in it,[n] and by the desertion of many soldiers who had returned to their own country after sharing in the plunder of Brescia, was needed at home for defence against the English;[o] and as it retreated through the Milanese territory, before a force of 20,000 Swiss, which had entered Italy by the Tyrol for the service of the pope and of Venice, the inhabitants rose against the stragglers, and slaughtered many in revenge for the late outrages.[p] The sentence of suspension which the council affected to issue against the pope, after attempts to draw him into summoning another general council,[q] and after several delays and extensions of the time of grace allowed him, was received with general mockery;[r] and the residue of the unfortunate assembly, after having removed to Asti and thence to Lyons, vanished so obscurely that its end was not observed.[s]

Sess. VIII., April 21.

Julius had treated all the messages of the opposition council with contempt. He had not been dismayed by the successes of the French, and had rejected, even with

[l] Guicc. 724; P. Jov. Vita Leon. 46-7; M. Coccin. in Freher, ii. 287-9; Schröckh, xxxii. 468; Roscoe's 'Leo,' i. 272-3.

[m] Guicc. 678; P. Jov. 48.

[n] Roscoe, i. 271.

[o] Guicc. 725.

[p] Ib. 729; M. Coccin. in Freher, ii. 281; Sism. x. 323-7, 336.

[q] Richer, 231.

[r] Ib.; Giesel. II. iv. 191; Schröckh, xxxii. 471. Julius degraded Philip Decius from his doctorate (see above, p. 313), for his writings in defence of the council. Guicc. 702.

[s] Schröckh, xxxii. 472.

anger, a suggestion that he should withdraw for safety to Naples.[t] And three weeks after the battle of Ravenna—only a fortnight later than the time originally appointed—he assembled the fifth Lateran council.[u] The proceedings were opened by Giles of Viterbo, general of the Augustine friars, and afterwards a cardinal, who, in a discourse which was greatly admired,[x] spoke of the evils and dangers of the time, of the benefits of synods, the providential care which had been shown in the protection of the pope, the mischiefs of schism, the necessity of ecclesiastical and moral reformation, and the duty of arming against the general enemy of Christendom.[y] May 3.

The first and second sessions were chiefly occupied by formal business.[z] At the third session, Matthew Lang, bishop of Gurk, appeared, and produced a commission from Maximilian, with whom the pope had lately concluded an alliance.[a] In this document the emperor signified his adhesion to the council, and authorized his representative to do all that might be possible for the restoration of unity. The bishop then declared that in the emperor's name he revoked and annulled all that had been done in the *conciliabulum* of Pisa, for which, he said, the emperor had never given any mandate; and he and a lay envoy of Maximilian reverently kissed the pope's feet.[b] At the same session was read and accepted a bull, reprobating and annulling all the proceedings of the refractory cardinals, and renewing an order by which Julius, in the preceding August, had interdicted all France, with the exception of Brittany, May 10-17. Dec. 3.

[t] Sism. x. 318-19.
[u] Hard. ix. 1573, 1595-8; Guicc. 721; Mém. de Bayart, c. lii.
[x] Sadolet. in Hard. ix. 1575.
[y] Hard. ix. 1576-81.
[z] Ib. 1581, seqq.
[a] Guicc. 758; Schmidt, iv. 441; Sism. x. 359-60.
[b] Hard. ix. 1626-8.

and had even condescended to gratify his enmity against the French by so petty an act of vengeance as the removal of a fair from Lyons to Geneva.[a]

Dec. 16. At the fourth session the question of the pragmatic sanction was brought before the council. After a reading of the instrument by which Lewis XI. had abrogated it,[b] the advocate of the council, Melchior Bardassani, requested that the pragmatic sanction should be revoked and annulled, and that a monition should be addressed to such ecclesiastical and lay persons of eminence in France as might be interested in it, requiring them to appear and to show cause why it should not be abolished.[c] Two bulls of the proposed tenor were thereupon produced, and received the approbation of the council.[d]

Julius had quarrelled with his Venetian allies, partly as to some territories which he claimed on the Po;[e] and while the republic concluded a treaty with France, the pope, as we have seen, allied himself with the emperor.[f] But whereas Maximilian set up pretensions to the duchy of Milan for himself or one of his grandsons, the pope, who could endure no foreign dominion in Italy, favoured the claims of Maximilian Sforza, son of Lewis the Moor. This claimant entered the capital on the 29th of December,[g] and it appeared as if Julius were on the point of completing his work of expelling the "barbarians" from Italy, when he was seized with an illness which seemed likely to be fatal. In consequence of

[a] Hard. ix. 1638-50. The pope intended to take the title of "Most Christian" from the French king, and to transfer it to the king of England. (Guicc. 761, 768.) It has been said that in June 1512 he anathematized Lewis, and offered his kingdom to any one who would take it. But if such a sentence was ever framed, it would seem to have been no more than a draft. See P. de Grassis in Rayn. 1512. 63, with Mansi's note; Guicc. 768.

[b] Hard. ix. 1640.

[c] Ib. 1641-2.

[d] Ib. 1645-6.

[e] Guicc. 738; Sism. x. 339, 358-60.

[f] Guicc. 758; Sism. x. 363.

[g] Fr. Carpesan. in Murat. 1088; Sism. x. 340, 360; Schmidt, iv. 440.

this he was unable to be present at the fifth session of the Lateran council, which was held on the 16th of February 1513;[k] but he got from it a confirmation of a bull which he had sent forth eight years before, and had since republished, with a view to checking the practice of simony in elections to the papacy.[l] The pope retained to the last his clearness of mind and his strength of will. With regard to the cardinals who had been concerned in the council of Pisa, he declared that as a private man he forgave them, and prayed that God would forgive the injuries which they had done to the church, but that as pope he must condemn them; and he ordered that they should be excluded from the election of his successor.[m] On the night of the 21st of February Julius breathed his last, at the age of seventy.

On the 4th of March twenty-five cardinals met for the election of a successor to the papacy.[n] The warlike ambition of Julius had produced so much of trouble that there was among them a general wish to fill the chair with a pope of very opposite character.[o] The younger cardinals especially resolved to make their influence felt, and among them the most active was Alfonso Petrucci, cardinal of St. Theodore, and son of the lord of Siena.[p] Raphael Riario, the senior and richest member of the college, whom some cardinals were disposed to choose in the hope of sharing in the great preferments which would become vacant by his election,[q] was soon set aside—partly on account of his relationship to Sixtus IV. and the late pope, and partly from doubts as to his capacity; and on the 11th of March the election fell on John de' Medici, who had entered the conclave two days later

[k] Hard. ix. 1561.

[l] Ib. 1656-60. The original date was Feb. 19, 1505. (See Rayn. 1506. 1; 1513. 5. 8; Guicc. 660.)

[m] Par. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1513. 8; Guicc. 769.

[n] Ib. 770.

[o] Sism. xi. 3.

[p] P. Jovius, Vita Leonis, 56.

[q] This was thought of as a way of evading the late decree against simony. Burckhardt, 97.

than the other cardinals. He had been detained on his journey from Florence by an ailment which is supposed to have induced some of his brethren to vote for him on the ground that it seemed likely to shorten his life.[r] It is said that Petrucci, in announcing the election of the new pope, as Leo the Tenth, to the people, shouted out, "Life and health to the juniors!"[s] The result was hailed with general acclamation.[t]

Leo at the time of his election was only thirty-seven years of age. His early promotion to the cardinalate, and his expulsion with the rest of his family from Florence, have been already mentioned.[u] During his exile from his native city he had travelled with a party of friends in Germany, France, and the Low Countries,[x] and had lived some years at Genoa, where his sister and her husband, Franceschetto Cibò, had established themselves.[y] There he became intimate with Julian della Rovere, who, like himself, was under the disfavour of pope Alexander; and when his friend became pope, cardinal de' Medici removed to Rome. Under the pontificate of Julius he lived in splendour, and showed that he had inherited the tastes of his family by his patronage of literature and art. He threw open to all a noble library, including as many of the manuscripts collected by the Medici as he had been able to recover by purchase after the troubles of Florence; his palace became a resort of painters, sculptors, musicians, and men of letters;[z] but so far did the expense of indulging his tastes exceed his means of gratifying them, that he is said to have been sometimes reduced to pledge his silver plate in order to procure a supply of the most necessary materials for an intended banquet.[a]

[r] P. Jovius, 55; Roscoe, i. 295-9.

[s] Bembus, in Rayn. 1513. 15. The story of Petrucci's conspiracy against Leo (see p. 278) belongs to a time later than that included in this chapter. See Schröckh, xxxiv. 500; Sism. x. 101-4; Roscoe, ii. 69, seqq.

[t] Guicc. 770.

[u] Pp. 231, 233, 249.

[x] Burchard, 2117; P. Jovius, 23-4.

[y] Ib. 24.

[z] Ib. 30; Gregorov. viii. 285.

[a] P. Jovius, 20.

The cardinal had been sent as legate to Bologna, at the head of a force which was intended to reduce the city after the revolt of 1511; and when the Spanish general Cardona, who commanded the besieging troops, through disregarding his advice, had allowed the French to advance to the relief of the Bolognese, the legate appeared at the battle of Ravenna, April 11, 1512. where, as we have seen, he was made Aug. 1512. prisoner.[b] From this captivity he was able to make his escape;[c] and within a short time he shared in the restoration of his family to Florence[d]—for which Sept. 14, 1512. he had contributed to pave the way by the attention which he was accustomed to bestow on Florentine visitors during his residence at Rome.[e]

As the pope had not yet advanced beyond the order of deacon, he was ordained as priest on the 15th of March, and as bishop on the 17th; and he was hastily enthroned on the 19th, in order to avoid interference with the rites of the holy week.[f] But Leo was not content with this imperfect ceremony, and a more splendid coronation was celebrated at the Lateran on the 11th of April. In the great procession the gods of Olympus and other heathen elements were mingled, according to the taste of the age; and the pope rode the same Turkish horse which, on the same day of the preceding year, had carried him at the battle of Ravenna.[g] The cost of this second coronation amounted to 100,000 ducats; and such an outlay for such a purpose contrasted strongly with the practice of Julius II., who, while he incurred enormous expenses on account of his wars, had spent very little on display.[h]

Magnificence and expense were characteristic of Leo's

[b] Roscoe, i. 253, seqq.
[c] P. Jovius, 49-50.
[d] Ib. 52; Guicc. 752; Roscoe, i. 284.
[e] Guicc. 665.
[f] Easter-day occurred on the 27th.
[g] Panvin. 370; P. Jovius, 57; Gregorov. viii. 164-70. "Sic enim ipse in eo triumphare voluit, in quo etiam victus fuerat." P. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1513. 20.
[h] Guicc. 772; Sism. xi. 6.

court, and in order to find the necessary means he had recourse to the disreputable expedients of promoting cardinals for money, and of creating offices for sale.[i] Even the luxury of his table was extraordinary. He encouraged invention in the culinary art; the flesh of monkeys and crows, and other unusual kinds of food were served up before him by way of experiment; and the discovery of peacock sausages was regarded as the highest triumph of genius in this department.[k] His banquets were enlivened by the brilliant conversation of wits, and by the follies of bad poets, whom he condescended to entertain for the sake of the amusement which their vanity and their absurdities afforded him.[l] The court was a scene of continual diversions, which were not always of the gravest character. The pope's favourite companions were gay, and for the most part highly-born, young cardinals. One of them, Bernard Dovizi,[m] who from his birthplace was called Bibbiena, wrote comedies of a somewhat free character, which were acted by young performers in the Vatican;[n] and every year a party of comedians, known as the "Academy of the Roughs," was brought from Siena for the diversion of the father of Christendom.[o] Card-playing for heavy stakes was a common sequel of the pope's banquets; and, whether a winner or a loser, he was in the habit of throwing gold pieces among the spectators of the game.[p] He condemned the practice of dice-playing, however, as dangerous to fortune and morals.[q] Painters, sculptors, architects,

[i] Panvin. 373; Gregorov. viii. 221, 224, 261.

[k] P. Jovius, 85. The next pope, Adrian, was astonished by such items in looking over his predecessor's accounts. (Ib.) Roscoe ridiculously vindicates Julius as to this. ii. 392.

[l] P. Jov. 84-5; Bayle, art. *Léon X.*, n. F.

[m] P. Jov. 84. This cardinal delighted the pope by his talent for drawing out the absurdities of grave personages. Ib.

[n] Guicc. 742; Roscoe, i. 326; Reumont, III. ii. 68-70; Burckhardt, 126; Dennistoun, ii. 141, seqq.; Gregorov. viii. 349-50.

[o] "Academia de' Rozzi." Tirab. VII. i. 18.

[p] P. Jov. 85. [q] Ib.

musicians, and artists of all other kinds, found Leo a munificent patron; nor was literature neglected in the distribution of his favours, although it seems to have received but an inferior share of them. Before leaving the conclave at which he had been elected, he appointed as his private secretaries two elegant scholars, Bembo and Sadoleto, who afterwards became cardinals.[r] He also promoted to the cardinalate some eminent divines, such as Thomas de Vio (known by the name of Cajetan), Sylvester Prierias, and Giles of Viterbo.[s] But the learning which he chiefly favoured was not theological. His own acquirements in theology were confessedly scanty; while, as might have been expected in a pupil of Politian, he delighted in the writings of the Greek and Roman poets. His favourite amusement was hunting, in which he engaged with a zeal regardless of season, of weather, and of unwholesome air; and nothing disturbed his usually placid temper more surely than any breach of the laws of sport.[t]

That Leo had little of piety or devotion in his character appears unquestionable. But his defects as to religion may be described as those of a man of the world too much addicted to its objects and enjoyments. The charges which have been brought against his morals appear to have been greatly exaggerated and maliciously darkened;[u] and the tales which represent him as an unbeliever in the Christian revelation may be regarded as utterly groundless.[x] Good-natured as Leo usually was, he sometimes showed himself stern. He beheaded Baglioni, who (as we have seen) had made himself tyrant of Perugia, for acts of tyranny, robbery, and murder, notwith-

[r] P. Jov. 58.

[s] Roscoe, i. 336; Schröckh, xxxii. 497.

[t] P. Jov. 37-8; Roscoe, ii. 393.

[u] See P. Jov. 84; Schröckh, xxxii. 499. Mr. Roscoe, of course, labours to dispel them utterly. (ii. 389.) "Aveva saputo in modo dissimulare, che era tenuto di ottimi costumi." Vettori in Gregorov. viii. 160.

[x] The charge rests on a story of his having said to cardinal Bembo, "Quan-

standing the intercessions of the Orsini;[y] he hanged a doctor of laws for producing forged documents in a suit; and he punished with unsparing severity the conspiracy of cardinal Petrucci.[z]

Leo was desirous, like his predecessor, to exclude the rule of foreigners from Italy;[a] but his ambition was of a lower kind than that which had thrown a sort of grandeur over the schemes of Julius, and had in some degree covered the unscrupulous nature of the means which he employed.[b] It was not for the church, for the papacy, or for Italy that the Medicean pope laboured, but for his own family.[c] His eagerness to forward the interests of his relations was shown immediately after his election by his appointing his cousin Julius, a knight of Rhodes, and son of the victim of the Pazzian conspiracy,[d] to the archbishoprick of Florence; and to this were soon added the dignity of cardinal and the legation of Bologna.[e] At a later time great troubles arose

Sept. 23, 1513.

tum nobis nostrisque ea de Christi fabula profuerit, satis est omnibus sæculis notum"; and on a passage in which J. F. Picus speaks of a pope as having been an infidel. But the first of these has no better authority than that of Bale, bishop of Ossory, who was ready to believe anything against the church of Rome: and as Picus published his book before the election of Leo, the reference in it must be to Alexander VI. (See Bayle, art. *Léon X.*, n. I; Schröckh, xxxii. 498; Roscoe, ii. 388, 508; Gieseler, II. iv. 509.) There is also a story told by Luther, that Leo, having heard a dispute on the immortality of the soul, said to the maintainer of the affirmative, "Tu quidem vera videris dicere, sed adversarii tui oratio facit bonum vultum." (In Genes. xix., Opera, vi. 232, Witeberg. 1580.) But Luther cannot well be accepted as an authority in such a case; nor would the story, if true, justify the inference. (See Bayle, l. c.) Even if the alleged saying to Bembo was spoken, the words "ea de Christi fabula" might be construed as meaning some legendary tale, or some Roman misinterpretation of a passage in the gospel story, rather than the whole evangelical narrative.

[y] P. Jov. 83. Baglioni was decoyed into the castle of St. Angelo by treachery, and there is some mystery about his case. Gregorov. viii. 243.

[z] P. Jov. l. c.; Schröckh, xxxii. 499.

[a] Guicc. 777.

[b] Panvin. 368; Sism. xi. 38.

[c] Ib. 39; Reumont, III. ii. 59, seqq.

[d] See Gregorov. viii. 206, seqq.

[e] In the promotion to the archbishoprick, the difficulty of Julius's birth was got over by a dispensation for illegitimacy; but when he was raised to the cardinalate, his mother and other witnesses were produced to swear that his parents had been solemnly engaged to each other ("aveva avuto da lui segreto consentimento d'essere sua moglie"

out of his endeavours to provide a principality for a nephew by uniting Parma and Piacenza with Reggio,[f] and, on the failure of that plan, by bestowing on him the duchy of Ferrara, which was for that purpose to be taken from Alfonso d'Este;[g] and in a lower degree the pope was noted for his partiality for his countrymen in general, —so that Rome, to the disgust of its native citizens, swarmed with Florentines who were employed in all sorts of offices and occupations.[h]

Leo had followed Julius in his hostility to France; and he was a party to a new league which was concluded against that power at Mechlin, in April 1513, between the emperor, the king of England, and the king of Spain, although neither the pope nor Ferdinand formally signed it.[i] But the course of events speedily induced him to change his policy. The French, after some successes in northern Italy, were defeated at Novara by Swiss troops in the interest of Maximilian Sforza, and were driven back across the Alps, while the fortresses which had been held for them in Italy surrendered;[k] and by the disasters of France the power of Spain became more alarming, as the vast dominions of that country (including its acquisitions in the new world), of Austria, Naples, and the Netherlands, with the dignity

June 5.

Guicc. 844.) And on the strength of this Leo declared Julius to be "legitimum, et ex legitimo matrimonio natum." (Roscoe, i. 326, 485) It was generally supposed that the pope cared for nothing but his ease, and that all severe measures came from cardinal Julius; but this was a mistake. Guicc. 1135.

[f] P. Jov. 64. [g] Guicc. 734-5.

[h] See Ariosto, Sat. 7, quoted by Roscoe, ii. 119-21; Reumont, III. ii. 72; Gregorov. viii. 220.

[i] Rymer, xiii. 354, seqq. It was in consequence of this that Henry invaded Picardy, while James IV. of Scotland, by advancing into the north of England, as an ally of France, provoked the great disaster of Flodden. Guicc. 804-5; P. Jov. i. 180-6 (who gives a curious account of the English and Scots); Sism. R. I. xi. 28-9.

[k] Fr. Carpes. 1291; P. Jov. i. 168, 171; Guicc. 785-6; Sism. R. I. xi. 16-18, 35. Giovio says that before the battle the French dogs went over in a body to the Swiss, "Eorum crura lambere, caudas adulanter quatere, demissisque blande auribus singulis applaudere cœperunt."

of emperor, were likely to be soon united under the young Charles, the grandson of Ferdinand and of Maximilian.[l] The pope, therefore, was disposed to conciliate the French king, who, partly from his own regard for the papacy, and yet more in consequence of his consort's importunities, was ready to abandon the unsuccessful council which he had assembled in opposition to Leo's predecessor.[m] An agreement was easily concluded; and at the eighth session of the Lateran council it was declared that Lewis adhered to that council, and undertook to expel the rival assembly from Lyons or any other place in his dominions, while the pope recalled all the censures which had been uttered against France.[n] The schismatical cardinals Carvajal and San Severino, who had been arrested in Tuscany on their way to the conclave, had at the seventh session petitioned the council for pardon, and, on making their humble submission to the pope, and abjuring the council of Pisa, had a few days later been reinstated in their dignity.[o]

Dec. 17.

Within three weeks after the reconciliation of France with the papacy, queen Anne of Brittany died; and on the first day of the year 1415, her death was followed by that of Lewis XII., who in the meantime had married a third wife—the young princess Mary of England.[p] The crown of France descended to Francis, duke of Angoulême, the first prince of the blood, and son-in-law of the late king. At the time of his accession, Francis was only twenty years old. He was possessed of showy qualities, personal and mental, which won for him admiration and popularity; but he

Jan. 9, 1514.

[l] Martin, vii. 454.

[m] Guicc. 811; Rayn. 1513. 61; Bayle, art. *Louis XII.*, n. F.

[n] Hard. ix. 1709 12; Rayn. 1513. 61, 85, seqq.; 1514. 6, seqq.; Guicc. 811-12; Giesel. II. iv. 193.

[o] Hard. ix. 1696; Guicc. 771, 790; P. Jov. V. Leonis, 57; Rayn. 1513. 44-9.

[p] Mém. de Bayart, c. lviii; Martin, vii. 428-30.

was thoroughly selfish and hard-hearted, voluptuous, unsteady, and faithless; and these grave faults were more and more developed with advancing years.[q]

The new king at once signified his intention of prosecuting his predecessor's designs on Italy by assuming the title of duke of Milan; and in August he crossed the Alps into Lombardy—a country devastated, exhausted, and reduced to misery by the sufferings of years, during which it had been the battle-ground of French and Spanish, German and Venetian, armies.[r] The glory acquired by Gaston de Foix during his brief career stimulated the emulation of the young Francis.[s] At the battle of Marignano, the greatest action of the age, which the veteran general Trivulzio declared to be a battle of giants, in comparison of which all his former engagements were but as children's play, the king's desire of glory was gratified by a signal victory over the Swiss, who until then had been regarded as invincible;[t] and when the fight was over, he distinguished the "fearless and blameless knight," Bayard, by asking and receiving knighthood at his hands.[u] In consequence of this battle, Maximilian Sforza, who had never been able to gain a firm hold on the Milanese, gave up all pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and withdrew to a life of privacy in France.[x] Sept. 13.

After some negotiation[y] Leo sought a conference with Francis, and the two potentates met at Bologna. Francis showed the pope all ceremonious marks of reverence by kissing his feet, his hand, Dec. 10.

[q] Guicc. 832; P. Jovius, i. 290, 326; Vita Leonis, 65; Rayn. 1515. 22; Martin, vii. 435-6.

[r] Guicc. 589, 832; Sism. xi. 23, 28.

[s] Guicc. 832.

[t] Ib. 853-5; Fr. Carpesan. 1303; Sism. xi. 60-5; Martin, vii. 447-9. The slain amounted to 18,000 or 20,000, of whom two-thirds were Swiss.

[u] Mém. de Bayart, ii. 103. Since the cessation of the crusades the old religious ceremonies (see vol. iv. p. 205) were omitted in conferring knighthood. Schmidt, iv. 463.

[x] Guicc. 859; Sism. xi. 68.

[y] See Rayn. 1515. 23, seqq.

and his mouth, holding his train, and serving him at mass.[z] And the result of the conference was greatly in favour of Leo. He obtained the king's consent to his designs on the duchy of Urbino;[a] he put off his request for investiture in Naples by holding out hopes of the changes which might follow on the expected death of Ferdinand of Spain.[b] But the most important business of the conference related to the pragmatic sanction, which for three-quarters of a century had been a subject of contention between France and the papacy.[c] The late pope, at the fourth session of the Lateran council, had cited the king, the princes, the bishops, and the parliaments of France, to show cause why the law should not be abrogated.[d] At the ninth session (May 5, 1514) the procurator of the council reported that the French had not obeyed this summons; but the bishop of Marseilles explained that the prelates of France had been unable to procure a safe-conduct from the duke of Milan. On this, the Milanese ambassador said that his master had not refused a safe-conduct, but had required time for consideration;[e] and the subject was further discussed at the following session.[f]

Leo now succeeded in arranging with Francis that that sanction should be abolished, and a new concordat should be substituted for it. The blame of this concession was laid by the French on the king's chancellor, Duprat, whom the pope had gained to his interest by the hope of the cardinalate and of other rewards.[g] In return for his concessions the king obtained the dignity of

[z] P. Jov. i. 326; Vita Leonis, 69; P. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1515. 29, seqq.; Guicc. 862. The papal master of the ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, was in an agony lest Leo should derogate from his dignity by touching his cap, as Alexander VI. had done to Charles VIII. Rayn. 1515. 30.

[a] Guicc. 863-4; Rayn. 1516. 81; Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 81-2.

[b] Sism. xi. 76.

[c] Guicc. 864.

[d] See p. 318; cf. Hard. ix. 1609.

[e] Ib. 1738-42. [f] Ib. 1782.

[g] Schröckh, xxxii. 506-7; Sism. Hist. d. Fr. xvi. 42.

cardinal for Adrian de Boissy, bishop of Coutances and brother of the grand-master of France, with a discharge as to certain moneys which had been collected as if for a crusade, and had been detained by Lewis XII.;[h] and in addition to these favours, the pope professed to bestow on him new privileges with regard to ecclesiastical elections.[i]

The terms of the concordat were settled at Bologna in August 1516,[k] and were ratified by the Lateran council at its eleventh session, on the 19th of December—one bishop only expressing any difference of opinion.[l] Elections in cathedrals and monasteries were abolished, on account of the alleged evil consequences.[m] In case of the vacancy of a see, the king was within six months to present to the pope a person not under twenty-seven years of age, and having certain other qualifications. If he should present one not so qualified, he might within a further time of three months present another; and in case of delay, the pope might appoint a bishop, as he was also authorized to do when a vacancy was caused by the death of a prelate at the Roman court. Exceptions were, however, made as to some of the qualifications in the case of persons of royal or high birth, and of friars who by the statutes of their order were unable to take the prescribed degrees.[n] A like rule was established as to monasteries, where the heads were to be chosen from persons of the same order to which the monks belonged, and not under twenty-three years of age.[o] The bull of Boniface VIII. known as *Unam Sanctam*, with the slight modification of it introduced by Clement V., was re-

[h] Rayn. 1515. 35; Giesel. II. iv. 199.

[i] Jervis, Hist. of the Gallican Church, i. 105 (Lond. 1872).

[k] Hard. ix. 1882.

[l] Ib. 1831.

[m] Tit. 4. [The copy of the concordat as set forth in France (Hard. ix. 1870, seqq.), is most convenient for quoting, on account of the division into titles.

[n] Tit. 5.

[o] Ib. 7.

enacted,[p] and the pragmatic sanction—which was spoken of as "the Bourges corruption of the kingdom of France"[q] —was abolished. Thus the pope, in order to conciliate the king, had made over to the crown a large part of the privileges which were taken from the French church.[r] The Roman practices of reservation and expectative graces were given up,[s] but the pope found his compensation in the recovery of the annates.[t]

The report of the concordat was received in France with general indignation and disgust. The students of the university of Paris broke out into tumult, and dragged about the streets a figure of the chancellor Duprat, whom they regarded as the betrayer of the national church.[u] Preachers loudly denounced from the pulpit the sacrifice of ecclesiastical liberty.[x] When

Feb. 5, 1517. Francis convened at the Palace of Justice a great assembly of the parliament, the bishops, the chapter of the cathedral, and the chief doctors of the university, the concordat and the chancellor's explanations of it, with his statement that it must be regarded as a remedy for worse evils, were received with loud cries of disapprobation.[y] When the king sent forth letters

May 15. patent, by which the courts were ordered to take the concordat for the basis of their future judgments, the advocate-general, instead of requiring that the concordat and the letters should be registered by the parliament, desired that the pragmatic sanction might be maintained, and appealed "against

[p] Hard. ix. 1830. See vol. vi. p. 343; vii. p. 60.

[q] "Bituricensem regni Franciæ corruptelam." Hard. ix. 1827.

[r] Sism. Hist. d. Fr. xvi. 42, 58; Martin, vii. 459-61.

[s] Tit. 8.

[t] "Quod autem non tam restituantur annatæ in concordatis, quam stetisse semper ponantur, declarato irritas fore provisiones nisi verus valor exprimatur (titt. 18, 39, etc.); id ex eo factum est, quod annatæ nunquam prorsus intermissæ fuissent." Thomassin, 3. 2. 59. 11.

[u] Schröckh, xxxii. 512.

[x] Martin, vii. 463.

[y] Richer, l. IV. ii. 31-3; Schröckh, xxxii. 512; Giesel. II. iv. 202-3.

the congregation which claimed the title of Lateran council."[z]

The parliament of Paris blamed the re-imposition of annates as a measure which would beggar the kingdom, and also as simoniacal.[a] It appealed "to the pope better advised, and to the first lawfully assembled council"; and in this it was followed by provincial parliaments.[b] The university of Paris appealed in like manner,[c] and forbade all printers and booksellers to circulate the obnoxious document under pain of being rejected from the academic body.[d] March 19, 1518. March 27.

Francis, in no less indignation, met these demonstrations by threats, and by high-handed measures. He imprisoned some members of the university who had made themselves conspicuous in opposition to the concordat. But the parliament still carried on a long war of formalities, in the hope of delaying, if not of preventing, the enforcement of the new system. Chapters and monastic bodies continued to elect their heads, and the parliaments maintained the men so chosen, to the exclusion of the king's nominees.[e] The courts affected to act and to decide as if the pragmatic sanction were still in force, until Francis, in 1527, by transferring the cognisance of ecclesiastical causes from them to the great council of state, procured a reluctant submission to the concordat.[f] The chief remaining trace of the Gallican liberties was to be found in that freer tone of thought by which the French church was until very recent times distinguished from other portions of the Roman communion.[g]

[z] Martin, vii. 462.
[a] Giesel. II. iv. 203.
[b] Ib. 204.
[c] Preuves des Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. 314-19; Bul. vi. 87, seqq. In the "Gallic style" the year is 1517. See Giesel. l. c.
[d] Schröckh, xxxii. 514; Martin, vii. 463. For the powers exercised over booksellers by the universities of Paris and Bologna, see Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 345.
[e] Martin, vii. 463.
[f] Ib.
[g] Schröckh, xxxii. 511

The Lateran council, although more considerable as to numbers than that of Pisa, had never been largely attended,[h] and the greater part of its members (who at the utmost did not exceed sixteen cardinals and about a hundred bishops and abbots) were Italians or bishops *in partibus*, although there were also representatives of England, Spain, and Hungary.[i] Under Leo it had become merely an instrument of the papal policy.[k] A few decrees for reform of the curia and other such objects were passed in later sessions; but they were so limited by exceptions and reservations that little effect was to be expected from them.[l] There was also a project of an alliance between Christian sovereigns against the Turks.[m] There was a condemnation of some sceptical opinions which had been vented as to the eternity of the world and the mortality of the soul;[n] and, in order to check the indulgence in such speculations, it was decreed that no student in any university should spend more than five years in philosophical and poetical studies without also studying theology or canon law, either instead of such subjects or together with them.[o]

The council broke up at its twelfth session, on the 16th of March 1517, having enabled the pope to triumph over the threatened schism, and to gain a victory over the church of France which placed his authority higher than it had ever stood in that country. On the 31st of October in the same year, Martin Luther began the great movement against the authority of Rome by publishing his ninety-five propositions at Wittenberg.

[h] There were 83 mitred prelates at the opening. P. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1512. 41.

[i] Guicc. 721; Sism. xi. 104.

[k] Schröckh, xxxii. 515.

[l] Hard. ix. 1747-58; Schröckh, xxxii. 516.

[m] Rayn. 1514. 10.

[n] Sess. VIII., Hard. ix. 1719-20; Rayn. 1513. 92-3; Bayle, art. *Pomponace*; Giesel. II. iv. 508; Burckhardt, 445.

[o] Hard. ix. 1720. Under the name of poetry was included the study of classical literature in general.

CHAPTER VII.

PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL—MEASURES AGAINST JEWS AND MAHOMETANS IN SPAIN—WITCHCRAFT—SECTARIES—FORERUNNERS OF THE REFORMATION.

I. CHRISTIANITY was now professed throughout the European countries, although in the Byzantine empire it had been forced to stoop under the ascendency of the victorious Turks. We also meet with occasional notices of missions to some of the regions which had been the chief scenes of such enterprise in the ages immediately preceding—as when Eugenius IV., in 1433, sent a bishop and twenty Franciscans into the countries bordering on the Caspian Sea.[a] But the progress of geographical discovery opened new fields for missionary labour.

Thus the Portuguese, carrying their explorations along the coast of Africa, made settlements in Congo, where many of the natives were brought to receive baptism.[b] In 1497, the passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by the same nation;[c] and in their intercourse with the east they were brought into acquaintance with the church of Abyssinia, which they supposed to be the country of Prester John,[d] and with that of Malabar, which traced its origin to St. Thomas.[e] A.D. 1484.

But the discoveries of the Spaniards, which revealed a new world to Europe, were yet more important. Christopher Columbus, himself a Genoese, after fruitless

[a] Rayn. 1433. 29.
[b] Ib. 1491. 6, seqq.; 1504. 41; 1510. 37; Schröckh, xxx. 501, seqq.
[c] Purchas, book ii. p. 26.
[d] See vol. v. p. 252.
[e] See vol. i. p. 4; Rayn. 1501. 90; 1502. 3; 1504. 45-6; Hardwick, 337.

endeavours to recommend to various potentates the project which he had conceived of reaching the Indies by a western course, gained with difficulty the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. He set sail on his first voyage in August 1492, and returned in March 1493, having discovered the West Indian islands; and by him and his successors in adventure, a large portion of the great western continent was explored within the following years.[f] The newly-found territories, according to a principle which the popes had succeeded in establishing,[g] were supposed to belong to the apostolic see; and Alexander VI. was requested to decide between the claims of the two neighbouring nations which had been foremost in the work of discovery. In May 1493, Alexander VI. issued a bull, by which the boundary line was fixed at 100 leagues west of the Cape de Verde islands and of the Azores, all new discoveries within this line being assigned to Portugal, while all beyond it were to belong to Spain.[h] But the Portuguese were dissatisfied with the award; and in the following year the Spaniards and the pope consented that the boundary should be drawn 370 leagues westward of the Azores.[i]

In dealing with such questions, the pope inculcated on the discoverers the duty of spreading the gospel in the countries which had come under their dominion;[k] and some missions to the natives were very early set on foot. But it would be of little use to enter on any account of these missions, when all but the very beginning of their work belongs to a later period of history.

II. While it was desired and intended that the know-

[f] W. Irving, 'Life of Columbus'; 'Companions of Columbus'; Prescott, ii. 119, 147. See Guicciardini, 407-9; Allegr. Allegretti, in Murat. xxiii. 827.

[g] See vol. v. p. 269. Purchas's remarks on this bull are characteristic. 'Pilgrims,' Book II. c. i. § 6.

[h] Rayn. 1493. 27; Mariana, ii. 606; Prescott, ii. 158.

[i] Mariana, ii. 607; Prescott, ii. 165.

[k] *E.g.*, Rayn. 1493. 22; see Prescott, ii. 156.

ledge of the Christian faith should be propagated by peaceful and gentle means among the heathens of the newly-discovered countries, measures of a very different kind were employed in order to force it on the Jews and the Mahometans of Spain. For this purpose the inquisition, which during the schism of the papacy seemed to have been dormant,[l] was now revived in that country, with new circumstances of iniquity and cruelty, which have made the Spanish inquisition an object of especially profound and deserved abhorrence.

The union of Aragon and Castile under Ferdinand and Isabella suggested the idea of establishing entire unity of religion among their subjects; and, while with Ferdinand religion was commonly little better than a pretext for a selfish and treacherous secular policy, the mind of his more estimable consort was much under the influence of the clergy.[m] Thomas de Torquemada, who had acquired a power over her by having been her confessor in early life, is said to have exacted a promise that, if she should inherit the crown, she would devote herself to the extirpation of heresy, for the glory of God.[n] The earnestness with which Torquemada and others now urged the fulfilment of this promise overpowered the queen's natural tenderness, and she was reluctantly persuaded to request of Sixtus IV. that an inquisition might be established in Castile.[o] On All Saints' day, 1478, the pope issued a bull for this purpose.[p] The new inquisition was distinguished by its peculiar connexion with the state; the members of the tribunal were to be appointed by the sovereigns, and might be dismissed by them; and the property of the victims was to be confiscated to the crown.[q] The bishops had no share in the management of the

[l] Giesel. II. iv. 377.
[m] Prescott, i. 316-17.
[n] Ib. 317-18.
[o] Llorente, 'Hist. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne,' ed. 2, Paris, 1818, t. i. 145.
[p] Ib.
[q] Limborch, 78-9; Giesel. II. iv. 378.

inquisition, but were themselves subject to the action of this new and irresponsible power.[r] Even the papacy, after a time, found itself unable to cope with the inquisitors on their own ground.[s]

In 1483, the organization of the tribunal was completed by the nomination of Torquemada as chief inquisitor for Castile, and he was confirmed in his office by Innocent VIII., in 1486.[t] Four years after his original appointment, his power was extended to Aragon, where an inquisition had been established by Gregory IX. for the suppression of the Albigensian doctrines, but had latterly differed little from an ordinary ecclesiastical court.[u] The new institution speedily gave signs of activity. It surrounded itself with a host of "familiars"—spies, and ministers of its tyranny;[x] indeed the machinery was so extensive that the cost of it almost absorbed all the funds which were obtained by confiscations and fines.[y] Every year, in the beginning of Lent, the clergy were required to declare from the pulpit the duty of informing against any who might be suspected of religious error—even the nearest relations; and the information thus obtained by secret, and often anonymous, accusations, was used against the persons denounced, with more than all the injustice which had marked the proceedings of the inquisition in other countries and in its earlier stages.[z] No fair opportunity of defence was allowed; and torture was employed to wring out confessions.[a] The severities

[r] Mariana, ii. 525; Llorente, i. 264, seqq. Thus Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada, for having attempted to counterwork the inquisition, was brought before it in 1504, and was delivered only through the pope's interference. Ib. 341, etc.; Giesel. II. iv. 380.

[s] Giesel. I. c.

[t] Schröckh, xxxiv. 478-9; Llorente, i. 172; Giesel. II. iv. 388; Hefele's Ximenes, 276.

[u] Mariana, l. xxiv. 17; Llorente, I. c. iii.; Prescott, i. 303-5; ii. 6.

[x] Giesel. II. iv. 378.

[y] Llorente, i. 217, seqq.; Prescott, i. 335. The rest is said to have been scrupulously appropriated to the Moorish wars, or other pious purposes. Ib.

[z] See vol. vi. pp. 212-13.

[a] Schröckh, xxxiv. 480; Prescott, i. 325

of the inquisition began on the Epiphany of 1481, when six victims were committed to the flames at Seville; and within the following ten months, 298 were burnt in that city alone.[b] During the first few years of its operations, 2000 were burnt alive in Spain, and a still greater number were burnt in effigy, having been driven to seek their safety in exile. Torquemada, by proclaiming an offer of pardon to all who should voluntarily surrender themselves, induced about 17,000—"men and women of all ages and conditions"—to seek reconciliation with the church,[c] although this commonly involved such penalties as heavy fines, or total confiscation of property, civil disabilities, or imprisonment, which in many cases was for life.[d]

In Aragon—a country which had enjoyed much of liberty, and where many of the chief families, from intermarriage with persons of Jewish descent, were likely to fall under the suspicion of the new tribunal[e]—a spirit of indignation was aroused. The cortes remonstrated against the inquisition, both at the Spanish court and at Rome; they protested that the practice of confiscation, and the denial of a fair and open trial, were violations of their hereditary privileges.[f] The chief inquisitor of the province, Peter Arbues, was mortally wounded while attending a midnight office in the cathedral of Saragossa;[g] and it was found that the assassins Sept. 15, 1485.

[b] Prescott, i. 321-2.

[c] Mariana, ii. 527.

[d] Ib.; Llorente, i. 160; cf. 272, seqq.; Prescott, i. 323. Llorente and Prescott are wrong, as Bp. Hefele points out ('Ximenes, 267, 328), in supposing that Mariana refers all these atrocities to the single year 1481 (which was before Torquemada's appointment); but it is by no means clear that Mariana intended (as Hefele supposes) to give the number of Torquemada's victims during his whole tenure of office.

[e] Llorente, i. 140.

[f] Schröckh, xxxiv. 482-3; Llorente, i. 185. Rinaldi maintains the cause of the inquisition (1485. 21). Bp. Hefele more skilfully argues that it was disliked only as being an engine of state. 'Ximenes,' 282.

[g] Rayn. 1488. 22. He died two days later, Acta SS., Sept. 17, 734, 754; Llorente, i. 189, 191. This murder has been spoken of as a parallel to that of Becket, but the points of difference are more than those of likeness. Here, as in Becket's case, there is an

had been hired by the contributions of many nobles, and of many converts from Judaism.[h] The crime was immediately punished;[i] but there were serious tumults throughout the kingdom.[k] The cortes renewed their remonstrances from time to time against the horrible tyranny which had been imposed on their country.[l]

Torquemada himself lived in constant fear of a violent end. It is said that he endeavoured to fortify himself against poison by having always on his table a horn, which was supposed to be that of an unicorn, and to be an infallible test of its presence;[m] and he never stirred abroad without a strong body-guard.[n] He was thrice obliged to send his colleague Badaja to defend him at Rome, where charges had been preferred against him;[o] and in 1494 Alexander VI. appointed four bishops to be his coadjutors, under the pretext that his age required assistance, but in reality to mitigate his severity.[p] The Roman court, in its eagerness to get money by all means, attempted to sell exemptions from the authority of the inquisition and pardons for offences condemned by it; but the tribunal was too strong, and Alexander was obliged to give up this source of gain.[q]

The first objects of the inquisition's zeal were the Jews, who in Spain had advanced more than in any other country as to wealth, culture, and general prosperity.[r] Many of them from time to time had professed Christianity;

alteration of the place, in order to heighten the profanity of the act,—the "ante chorum" of one account becoming in others "ante altare majus," "ante altare majus et sanctissimum sacramentum, a latere epistolæ." Acta SS. 734, 754.

[h] Llorente, l. c.; Prescott, ii. 8. Arbues was beatified by Alexander VII. in 1664. Acta SS., l. c. 749.

[i] Llorente, i. 204, seqq.

[k] Ib. 211-13.

[l] Giesel. II. iv. 379.

[m] P. Giovio says that unicorns "in regno Gogiano" shed their horns. "Hoc cornu regiis impositum mensis, toxica, si qua sint epulis indita, emisso statim admirabili sudore convivis prodere narrant" (i. 327). See Sir T. Browne on Vulgar Errors, b. iii. c. 23.

[n] Llorente, i. 285.

[o] Ib.

[p] Ib. 285-6.

[q] Ib. i. 247-8; Giesel. II. iv. 381.

[r] Prescott, i. 306.

many noble houses had sought to improve their fortunes by alliances with these "new Christians"; and not a few of them had attained high dignities, as well in the hierarchy as in the state.[s] The inquisition now set itself to search out any symptoms of Judaism among the descendants of converts, and to punish it with unsparing severity, as a relapse. The old stories of outrages against the holy eucharist, of administering poison in the character of physicians, of stealing and crucifying Christian children, were revived against the Jews, and a more general measure for the suppression of Judaism in Spain was designed. The unfortunate people endeavoured to avert this by offering largely towards the expenses of the Moorish war; but while the matter was under consideration, Torquemada burst into the royal council, holding the crucifix in his hands; he told the sovereigns that to accept such an offer would be like the bargain of Judas, who sold his master; and dashing the crucifix on the floor, he indignantly departed.[t] After the capture of Granada, Ferdinand and Isabella issued from that city an order that all Jews should before the end of July either submit to baptism or go into exile. They were allowed to sell their property, and to carry away the value of it in bills of exchange, but were forbidden to take with them gold, silver, or precious stones.[u] March 30, 1492.

The Jews disposed of their possessions at a grievous loss, and at the appointed time they left the land which for many generations had sheltered their forefathers.[v] The greater part sought a refuge in Portugal, where king John II. was willing to admit them on payment of a tax

[s] Prescott, i. 312. Bp. Hefele says that at this time they were attempting to make proselytes. 262, 272.

[t] Llorente, i. 258-60.

[u] Mariana, ii. 602; Prescott, ii. 126-7.

[v] Mariana, ii. 603; Prescott, ii. 129-31. The number of those expelled is variously reckoned from 160,000 to 800,000. Dean Milman is inclined to adopt the estimate of Abarbanel, himself one of the sufferers, 300,000. Hist. of the Jews, iii. 309, ed. 1863.

for each person; but his successor, Emanuel, pledged himself, as a condition of marrying a Spanish princess, to imitate the policy of Ferdinand and Isabella by requiring the fugitives to choose between baptism and exile.[y] Such of them as refused to be baptized were shipped off to Africa, where they suffered extreme miseries. Many died of hardship or of ill-usage; some struggled to a Spanish settlement, where they made profession of Christianity, in the hope of being allowed to return to Spain.[z] Of those who sought a refuge elsewhere, some repaired to Rome, to appeal to Alexander VI. against an intolerance of which the popes themselves had given no example; and Ferdinand remonstrated with Alexander for having (for the sake of money, as it appears)[a] allowed them to pitch their tents on the Appian way, near the tomb of Cæcilia Metella.[b]

III. At the conquest of Granada, the catholic sovereigns had promised to the Moors by treaty the free exercise of their religion, with other privileges which might mitigate the loss of their independence. But in this case too it was regarded as a duty to establish unity of religion. Francis de Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada, wished to pave the way for the acceptance of the Christian faith by means of conviction; and with this view he himself, although no longer young, undertook to learn the language of the Moors; he encouraged his clergy to do the like, and promoted the compilation of vocabularies, and the translation of some parts of Scripture into Arabic.[c]

[y] Mariana, ii. 630; Prescott, ii. 131, 329.

[z] Schröckh, xxx. 564; Maclear, 'Missions in the Middle Ages,' 386-7.

[a] Panvin. 361.

[b] Infessura, 2012-13. In 1487 Innocent VIII. had issued a bull against *Marrani* [the name given to Jewish converts] who had repaired to Rome, and there had been employed as clerks to protonotaries, etc. Ib. 1979.

[c] Schröckh, xxx. 519; Prescott, ii. 374-5.

But a different course was taken by the most prominent ecclesiastic of the Spanish church in that age, Francis Ximenes de Cisneros. Ximenes, who was born in 1436, of a family belonging to the poorer class of nobility,[d] had in earlier life given many proofs of a resolute character and of a burning ecclesiastical zeal. After having spent six years in study at Rome, he had obtained from the pope a presentation to an "expected" archpriestship in the diocese of Toledo. The archbishop, Carillo, to whom the patronage ordinarily belonged, regarding this as an invasion of his rights, endeavoured to make him relinquish it, and on his refusal committed him to prison; but, as Ximenes at the end of six years showed no disposition to yield, the archbishop set him at liberty, and allowed him to take possession of his benefice.[e] Ximenes, however, exchanged it for one in the diocese of Siguenza, where, under the bishop, Mendoza, he was speedily promoted, and appeared to have a prosperous career before him, when he suddenly resigned his preferments and entered the Franciscan order, exchanging his baptismal name, Gonsalvo, for that of the founder.[f] He plunged into a course of the severest austerities, and after a time withdrew to a remote and lonely chestnut forest, where he built himself a little hut with his own hands.[g] From this retreat he was drawn forth by his monastic superiors; and in 1492, through the recommendation of his old patron Mendoza, then archbishop of Toledo, he was appointed confessor to the queen.[h] The reluctance with which he under-

A.D. 1484.?

[d] Hefele, 'Der Cardinal Ximenes,' ed. 2, p. 10, Tübingen, 1851. The Life of Ximenes, by Fléchier, bp. of Nismes (Œuvres, t. vii., ed. Paris, 1827), is very readable, but gives no authorities. See also Wadding, t. xv. Herzog, art. *Ximenes*.

[e] Alf. Gomecius, in Hispania Illustrata, i. 33. For the way in which the orders against presentation to expectancies had been evaded, see Hefele, 12-13.

[f] Gomecius, 931, 934.

[g] Ib.; Prescott, ii. 349.

[h] Gom. 935.

took this office appears to have been sincere, and he was yet more unwilling to accept the archbishoprick of Toledo after the death of Mendoza, in 1495.[i] The large revenues of his see[k] were spent on ecclesiastical and charitable objects; he even undertook at his own expense a crusade in Africa; while his own habits were of the most rigidly simple kind.[l] As provincial of his order in Castile, he had carried out a reform of the Franciscan convents, where discipline was greatly decayed; and under the authority of papal privileges he had extended his reforms, with characteristic resolution, to other monastic orders and to the secular clergy.[m]

Arriving at Granada in 1499, while the king and queen were visiting that city, Ximenes vehemently urged on them the duty of extirpating the Mahometan religion from their dominions.[n] The capitulations he set aside with scorn, as a compromise with evil which could have no validity. While Talavera was for awaiting the results of instruction, Ximenes held that baptism should be administered at once, on the ground that, if the profession of Christianity were insincere on the part of the recipient, it would become real in the next generation.[o] He was willing that there should be catechisms and popular elementary books in the vernacular tongue, but held that, until converts should have been brought by these to a love of the gospel, they were not fit to receive the Scriptures, but were likely rather to dishonour them; nor would he allow the sacred books to be in any other tongue than those of the originals and of the Vulgate.[p]

[i] Gom. 941; Prescott, ii. 356-8.

[k] These, at the beginning of the 16th century, amounted to 80,000 ducats, equal to nearly £150,000 at the present day. (Prescott, ii. 355.) As to the incomes of Spanish sees, see Hefele, 164.

[l] Hefele, 37-41.

[m] Gom. 937, etc.; Prescott, ii. 352-4; Hefele, 30, and c. xiv.

[n] See Rayn. 1499. 2, seqq.

[o] Gom. 960; Mariana, ii. 658. See Peter Martyr, quoted by Schröckh, xxx. 515; Prescott, ii. 391.

[p] Gom. 900.

He entered into conferences with Moorish doctors, and discoursed with fiery vehemence on the doctrines of the faith.[q] He even burdened his see in order to find the means of bribing the Moors to embrace the gospel, and his zeal is said to have been rewarded by vast numbers of conversions, so that in a single day he baptized more than 3000 proselytes by aspersion.[r] Where the milder methods of persuasion were ineffectual, he did not scruple to make use of chains and other forcible means.[s] Although he was noted for his munificent patronage of learning, his religious intolerance led him to order the destruction of all Arabic books except such as related to medical science; and it is said that 80,000 volumes—among them 5000 copies of the Koran, of which many were enriched with splendid illuminations and with precious ornaments—were committed to the flames.[t] The exasperated people of Granada broke out into insurrection and besieged the primate in the archiepiscopal palace; and after having been rescued, chiefly through the mediation of Talavera, he repaired to the court at Seville, where he pressed on Ferdinand and Isabella the necessity of dealing with the Mahometans as they had dealt with the Jews.[u]

On the 12th of February 1502, a decree was published by which all male Moors above fourteen years of age, and all females above twelve, were required either to receive baptism or to leave the kingdom before the end of April. Like the Jews, they were forbidden to carry with them gold, silver, or jewels, and they were charged not to betake themselves to the dominions of the Grand Turk, or of any enemy of Spain.[x]

In consequence of this edict multitudes left the

q Gom. 958; Prescott, ii. 378-9.
r Gom. 958; Prescott, ii. 378-9. Rinaldi speaks of 50,000 peasants as converted in a mass. 1500. 34.
s Gom. 958.
t Ib. 958; Prescott, ii. 382.
u Gom. 960; Prescott, ii. 384-7.
x Ib. ii. 413; Maclear, 393.

country. Some were imprisoned, and children under the ages named were forcibly torn from their parents. But many submitted to baptism and remained; and these new Christians, whose profession was justly suspected, were watched by all men with jealousy, and continually furnished victims for the tyranny of the inquisition.[y]

IV. As in former times,[z] the inquisition concerned itself not only with heresy, but with witchcraft—a thing which Gratian, in his 'Decretum,' had spoken of as a pagan delusion,[a] but which had come to be more and more a matter of popular belief.[b] Witchcraft was regarded as more detestable than heresy, because, in addition to impiety, it included malignity and hurt to mankind; and for the same reason, as being a civil offence, it was liable to prosecution by the secular magistrates, as well as by the clergy.[c] Many cases of such prosecution are found during this time in Italy,[d] Germany, France, and other countries; but the most remarkable was that which occurred at Arras, in 1459.[e] The first person who was brought to trial was a woman of disreputable life;[f] but gradually the victims were taken from higher and higher stations, and were chosen with an evi-

[y] Mariana, ii. 660; Prescott, i. 301.

[z] See vol. vii. p. 423.

[a] Causa XXVI. v. c. 12. For this he professes to quote "Concilium Anquirense," but the words cannot be traced to the Council of Ancyra, or to any other authority. The maintainers of the reality of witchcraft at a later time, said that the contrary opinion was only on the *bark* of the canon quoted by Gratian. (See Giesel. II. iv. 387.) On the various kinds of magic, see Trithem. in Eccard. ii. 1829, seqq., where he vindicates himself from charges of such practices.

[b] See, *e.g.*, Rayn. 1437. 27; 1445. 27; 1457. 90. In 1466, the university of Paris condemned books of magic composed by one Arnold Desmarets, which a committee had reported to contain "multas superstitiones, multas conjurationes et dæmonum invocationes manifestas et horribiles, multas insuper latentes hæreses, et idololatrias manifestas." Argentré, i. 256.

[c] Giesel. II. iv. 382-3, 388.

[d] Rayn. 1501. 43; Burckhardt, 429.

[e] J. de Clercq, in Petitot, xi. 62, seqq., or in Monstrel. ed. Buchon, t. xiv.; M. de Coussy in Monstrel. xi. 358, seqq.

[f] "De folle vie."

dent regard to their wealth.[g] The offence imputed to them was styled *Vauderie*; yet, although this word appeared to connect them with the Waldensian sectaries, the charges and the evidence seem to relate wholly to the practice of sorcery; indeed, their story is a proof how readily the imputation of heresy might run into the yet more odious suspicion of witchcraft.[h] Some of the accused, on being put to the torture, confessed monstrous things—that they had been conveyed by the devil to the meetings of the party, riding through the air on an anointed stick, and that at those meetings they had practised obscene, revolting, and absurd rites and abominations. On these avowals they were condemned, and were made over to the secular arm; whereupon they burst out into loud complaints against their counsel for having led them to suppose that, by confessing whatever might be laid to their charge, they might save their lives; and they steadfastly declared their confessions to be entirely false.[i] It was in vain that Giles Carlier, dean of Cambray, endeavoured to bring them off with a slight penance;[k] the bishop of Berytus, who was suffragan of Arras and had been a papal penitentiary, urged on the trial with rigour.[l] Many were put to death by fire; some were sentenced to imprisonment for life, or to the payment of heavy fines.[m]

The excitement produced by these trials was immense, and for a time general uneasiness and suspicion reigned throughout the north of France.[n] But some of those

[g] J. de Clercq, in Petitot, 73.

[h] Giesel. II. iv. 388. C. Zantfliet says, "A vulgaribus nuncupantur Waldenses." (Mart. Coll. Ampl. V. 501.) Rinaldi speaks of them as *called* Waldenses (1459. 86). Gaguin, after stating that a doctor of Paris was condemned to perpetual imprisonment for travelling through the air on a broomstick, adds, "Quod impietatis genus *Waldensium* esse dicitur." Argentré, i. 252.

[i] J. de Clercq, 70-3.

[k] Carlier is described by J. de Clercq as "ung des notables clerqs quy fut en Chrétienneté." He has been already mentioned as a disputant at the council of Basel, p. 59.

[l] J. de Clercq, 66.

[m] Ib. 76. [n] Ib.

whom the inquisitors had ventured to accuse appealed to the parliament of Paris, which in 1461 put a stop to the processes as groundless. It was not, however, A.D. 1491. until thirty years later, when Artois had reverted to the French crown, that the parliament of Paris gave its final decision, by which the processes were declared to be abusive and null,[o] and the heirs of the duke of Burgundy, and of the chief persons concerned in them, were condemned to make reparation to the representatives of the sufferers. The use of torture in such cases was forbidden, and in consequence of the indignation excited by the Arras trials, the inquisition disappeared in France.[p]

In 1484 Innocent VIII. addressed a letter to the Germans, in which he set forth the rifeness of magical practices, and the manifold dangers with which society was threatened by them.[q] In order to check these evils, he appointed two Dominicans, James Sprenger and Henry Krämer (in Latin called *Institor*), inquisitors for Germany, and invested them with powers which trenched on the province of the secular magistracy. These learned personages, by way of warning, published at Cologne in 1489 a book entitled 'The Hammer of Witches,' which is a strange compendium of the superstitions of the age.[r]

[o] "Abusifs, nuls, faits faussement, et autrement qu'à point." Sism. Hist. Fr. xiv. 623.

[p] Ib.; Martin, vi. 518-19.

[q] Rayn. 1484. 74. See Schröckh, xxx. 474; Giesel. II. iv. 383. "Complures utriusque sexus personæ . . . mulierum partus, animalium fœtus, terræ fruges, vinearum uvas et arborum fructus, necnon homines, mulieres, pecora, pecudes, et alia diversorum generum animalia, vineas quoque, pomaria, prata, pascua, blada, frumenta et alia terræ legumina perire, suffocari et extingui facere et procurare, ipsosque homines . . . et animalia diris tam intrinsecus quam extrinsecus doloribus et tormentis afficere et excruciare, ac eosdem homines ne gignere, et mulieres ne concipere, valeant, impedire . . . instigante humani generis inimico committere et perpetrare non verentur."

[r] See Gieseler, II. iv. 388; Quétif-Echard, I. 896-7. It has been often reprinted, as at Lyons (with other books of the same kind), 4to, 1669. The gender of the second word in the title, "Malleus Maleficarum," is accounted for by the explanation that by far the greater number of persons given to magical arts were women.

From this time prosecutions for witchcraft became more frequent than before; and, after the pope's formal acknowledgment of the reality of the crime, any doubt as to its existence was regarded as impious.[s] The fifth Lateran council forbade all magical practices, whether by clergy or by laity, under severe penalties.[t]

V. During this period we often meet with notices which show that opinions, which had been the cause of serious commotions in earlier ages, continued to exist, although more obscurely than before. Thus, about the middle of the fifteenth century, we find mention of Manichæans or cathari in Bosnia, where the king's father-in-law and many other persons of high station were among the followers of the heresy.[u] The eloquence of John of Capistrano is said to have converted multitudes from this form of error in Transylvania and the Danubian countries, — among them the chief of the sect, whom he baptized.[x] We read of fraticelli "of the opinion," as they are sometimes styled, who lurked about Italy,[y] and even of attempts to spread the doctrines of the party in Ireland.[z] We find turlupins put to death at Lille in 1465, and, while the charges against them are mostly of the usual kind, one article relates to a denial of the Holy Ghost.[a] The Waldenses in the valleys of Dauphiny and northern Italy attract from time to time the notice of the ecclesiastical authorities;[b] and the same party appears in Bohemia as connected with the Hussites.[c] Prophecies

The reasons of this are discussed in p. I. c. vi. Perhaps one specimen may be enough: "Dicitur *fœmina* a *fe* et *minus*, quia semper minorem habet et servat fidem." P. 43.

[s] Schröckh, xxx. 477, 480-3; Giesel. II. iv. 385; Janus, 274.

[t] Hard. ix. 1757.

[u] Rayn. 1449. 9; 1460. 91; Æn. Sylv. Comment. 227.

[x] Rayn. 1455. 56.

[y] Ib. 1418. 11; 1421. 5; 1426. 18; 1428. 6; 1433. ult.; 1438. 24; 1447. 23, etc.: Infessura, 1893.

[z] Wood, Hist. Oxf. i. 698 (A.D. 1482).

[a] J. de Clercq, in Monstrel. ed. Buchon, xv. 88.

[b] Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 1510; vii. 255, 326-7; Schröckh, xxxiv. 488-9.

[c] Rayn. 1498. 25, seqq.

continued to be circulated and to affect the minds of men. Strange preachers appeared,[d] with apocalyptic oracles and predictions of Antichrist, whom some of them declared to be already born;[e] and not uncommonly such preachers, after a short career of success, ended their lives at the stake. Some taught that all things were common, that the married state was unlawful and inconsistent with salvation,[f] or other such fantastical and mischievous notions. And sometimes a great excitement was produced by the appearance of a brilliant and mysterious adventurer, whose variety of learning and accomplishments seemed inconsistent with his years, and suggested the suspicion that he might be no other than the very Antichrist himself.[g]

VI. In England, during the earlier part of the fifteenth century, charges of lollardism frequently occur, and the persons accused of this offence are usually treated without mercy.[h] This severity may have arisen in part from the fact that the dangerous political elements of lollardism became more and more conspicuous; that members of the party advocated community of goods, that they were busy in agitating against taxation, and vented doctrines hostile to all civil government.[i]

[d] *E.g.*, Antonin. 493-4, 519; Infess. 2000; Annal. Placent. in Murat. xx. 878.

[e] St. Vincent Ferrer assured Benedict XIII., on the authority of revelations, and of the confessions of demons, that Antichrist was already nine years old. Döllinger on the 'Prophetic Spirit,' 67.

[f] Rayn. 1459. 30-1; Nauclerus, 1099; Argentré, i. 253.

[g] One such Crichton Cagliostro is mentioned as having been at Paris in 1445. "Vraiment," says the 'Bourgeois de Paris,' "se ung homme povoit vivre cent ans sans boire, sans manger, et sans dormir, il ne auroit pas ces sciences qu'il scet touttes par cueur apprinses." (Monstrel. x. 537; cf. M. de Coussy, ib. 60-2.) Another was at Lyons in 1501. Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 414.

[h] See Wilkins, iii. 404, 434, 438, 488, 493, 498, 501, 515-17, etc.; Fox's 'Acts and Monuments'; English Chron. ed. Davies (Camd. Soc. 56, 88, etc.; Pauli, v. 446. See Mr. Riley's introduction to J. de Amundesham. (Chron. and Mem.)

[i] Pauli, v. 297; Hook, v. 83. See, *e.g.*, the case of Ralph Mungyn, in Wilkins, iii. 501-2.

A general decay of discipline at this time pervaded the English church.[k] The bishops were commonly unpopular, and there was much outcry against them for their neglect of the duties of preaching and residence.[l] Against such complaints their cause was strenuously maintained by Reginald Pecock, bishop of St. Asaph, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross,[m] and afterwards in a long and elaborate treatise, entitled 'The Repressor of over-much Wyting [*i.e.*, Blaming] of the Clergy.'[n] A.D. 1447.

Pecock was probably a native of the diocese of St. David's, and is supposed to have been born about the end of the fourteenth century.[o] He studied at Oxford, where he became a fellow of Oriel College, and in 1444 he was promoted to the bishoprick of St. Asaph.[p] The merit of his honesty of intention was somewhat marred by vanity and self-confidence, and by a tendency to a

[k] Collier, iii. 390, from the contemporary Gascoigne, Chancellor of the University of Oxford. On the same authority Antony a' Wood mentions the appointment of a lad of 18—who had been "companion, or rather fool, when a child, to a very great person of the royal blood"—to the archdeaconry of Oxford (then in the diocese of Lincoln), with "two rich rectories and twelve prebendships, the profits of which a certain secular or esquire received, and allowed the archdeacon what he pleased." The archdeacon "was not only a natural, but also a sot. He would be also drunk every day. He could understand little or no Latin, no more than a parrot that is taught. He enjoyed the said preferments almost 20 years, in all which time he was not made priest, neither judged fit to be one, having a papal dispensation for non-residence." (Hist. Oxf. i. 602-3.) This was probably Fulke Birmingham, who was appointed in 1444, and resigned in 1467, according to Le Neve, ed. Hardy, ii. 66.

[l] Lewis, 8-9; Babington, Introd. to the 'Repressor,' xiv.; Pecock, Repr. 618.

[m] Gascoigne, in Hemingford, ed. Hearne, 516. Pecock professes to defend the clergy against popular blame in eleven "gouvernaunces." See his seven propositions in Lewis, 13-14.

[n] This had been admirably edited by Professor Churchhill Babington in the 'Chron. and Mem. of Great Britain.' The other chief authorities as to Pecock are the extracts from Gascoigne published by Hearne with Hemingford's Chronicle; Whethamstede, ibid. (and lately in Chron. and Mem. i. 279, seqq.); the Life by Lewis (reprinted, Oxford, 1820), and Waterland's letters to Lewis (Works, vol. vi. ed. 1843).

[o] Lewis, 1-2. See Babington, x.-xi.

[p] There was an irregularity about his taking the doctor's degree. Gasc. in Hearne, 516, 548; Babington, xii. xiii.; Wood, i. 605-6.

style of argument rather subtle than solid;[q] and these defects appeared in his sermon at St. Paul's Cross and in the 'Repressor.' He maintained that bishops, as such, are not bound to preach,[r] and that for reasonable causes they may be non-resident.[s] He asserted that the pope, as successor of St. Peter, was head of the church.[t] He held that the pope was the universal pastor, and was entitled to the whole revenues of the church, so that the sums paid by bishops, by way of firstfruits and the like, were merely a partial restoration of that which was his own —like the payments made by a steward to his lord.[u] He not only maintained the episcopal order and vindicated the right of church-property against the attacks of the Wyclifites,[x] but defended images and relics (in behalf of which he alleged stories of miracles performed by them),[y] pilgrimages,[z] the monastic system,[a] the splendour of conventual buildings,[b] the adoration of the cross,[c] and many questionable ceremonies of the church.[d] The excitement

[q] Waterland, vi. 253; Babington, xiv., xv. One of his peculiarities was a fondness for commending his own books, *e.g.*, Repr. 47-8, 58, 128. For this his adversary Bury reproves him. Ib., Append. 594, 605.

[r] One of his chaplains, however, explained to Gascoigne that bishops *are* bound to preach, *i.e.*, to teach publicly the truths of the gospel, but are not bound to preach in the form then usual, with text, divisions, etc. Gasc. 520-1.

[s] Append. 616-17.

[t] Repr. 436, seqq.

[u] Gasc. 528-9; Babingt. xvi.; Hook, v. 181.

[x] Repr. 275, 415-16.

[y] Ib. 136, 175, 183, 185, seqq., 222.

[z] Ib. 175, 255.

[a] Among his characteristics is to be noted a fondness for illustrations drawn from common life. Thus, he meets the objection to the number and diversity of monastic orders by asking, "Why in a toun which is a thoroughfare toward London ben so many ostries for to lodge guestis, though in fewer of hem all guestis mighten be lodged?" The answer is that variety is attractive. "For why, what point in chambering, stabling, gardens, beds, services of the ostiler (and so in other things), pleaseth one guest, pleaseth not another; and what point in these thingis offendeth one, pleaseth well another, and therefore where that the more such diversity is to be had and found, the more stirring thereby is had to please many guestis; and thereby followingly the mo guestis wollen have will for to lodge them in thilk toun, more than if there were fewer diversities, which should needs be in fewer inns." Repr. 521-2.

[b] Ib. 476. [c] Ib. 199, 267, seqq.

[d] Ib. 561, seqq.; Waterl. vi. 281, seqq.

produced by his sermon was very great;[e] instead of quelling the popular odium of bishops, it further exasperated it.[f] And in addition to this, he was charged by adversaries of a different kind with setting reason above Holy Scripture, with treating in the vernacular language subjects too deep for the understanding of the multitude, and with disrespect to fathers, councils, and the authority of the church.[g]

Notwithstanding these circumstances, Pecock was translated in 1450 to the see of Chichester, which had become vacant through the murder of the late bishop.[h] For this promotion he was indebted to the duke of Suffolk and to queen Margaret's confessor, the bishop of Norwich; but, when Suffolk had been overthrown, Pecock was left without powerful protectors. When he appeared at the king's council, in October 1457, with many spiritual and temporal lords, there was an outburst of indignation against him, as having vented novel doctrines and even as having incited the people to insurrection; and he was compelled to leave the assembly.[i] His books—of which he declared that he would be answerable for such only as he had set forth within the last three years—were, by order of the archbishop, Bourchier, committed for examination to twenty-four doctors.[k] Their report was that his writings contained many errors and heresies, and, after several examinations, Nov. 11, 28.

[e] Append. to Repr. 61-5.

[f] Gasc. 511-12, 514; Babington, xvii. Collier, however, seems to have mistaken Gascoigne's meaning in supposing him to trace the murders of the bishops of Chichester and Salisbury to Pecock's treatment of the episcopal order. (iii. 392.) See Gasc. 512, 532-4, 536; Godwin, 350, 510; Lewis, 135-7.

[g] Gasc. 545, 547; Lewis, 157; Collier, iii. 390; Babingt. xviii., xix., xxxix., li. As to the books written against him, see Babingt. 567, seqq.; Lewis, 142.

[h] Adam Moleyns. His murder was attributed to the Yorkist party. (See Hook, v. 161; Babingt. xxxii.)

[i] Gasc. 542-3; Lewis, 132; Babingt. xxxvi.-vii. Lewis thinks (146) that Pecock had offended by the freedom with which he had spoken of the late French war, and by expressing a wish that the like pains were taken for the suppression of Lollardism. Repr. 90.

[k] Gasc. 545

the archbishop desired him to choose between retractation and delivery to the secular arm, "as the food of fire, and fuel for the burning." Utterly unmanned by terror, Pecock submitted to make an abjuration, which he publicly performed at St. Paul's Cross—the same place in which his obnoxious sermon had been preached—on the second Sunday in Advent, in the presence of the primate, three bishops, and 20,000 people; with his own hands he delivered his censured books to be thrown into the flames; and it was believed that, if the multitude could have reached him, he would have shared the fate of his writings.[l] "He retracted errors which he had never uttered, and he retracted utterances which he knew to be truths."[m] By a representation of his case to the pope he obtained three bulls, ordering the archbishop to restore him; but Bourchier refused to receive the bulls, as being contrary to the statute of provisors.[n] Whether Pecock resigned his see, or was deprived of it, is uncertain;[o] his last days were spent in rigorous seclusion at Thorney Abbey, and the time of his death is unknown.[p]

Dec. 4.

Although Pecock was so far from agreeing with the Lollards that his main object was to confute them,[q] and that his ingenuity was exercised in defending points of the existing system which were the objects of their

[l] Gasc. 543-9; Whethamst. 493-502; Lewis, 160.

[m] Babingt. xxxvi.-l.; see Wilkins, iii. 576; Hook, v. 305-8; Wood, i. 610.

[n] Lewis, 174-5; Babingt. liii.-iv.; Hook, v 310. There is, however, a letter of Pius II. against Pecock, dated April 1459, in Rayn. 1459. 29.

[o] See Lewis, 177; Babingt. liv.; Hook, v. 309-10.

[p] There was an allowance of £40 yearly "for his finding." In respect of diet and fuel, he was treated with indulgence; but he was to be confined to "a secret closed chamber, where he might have sight to some altar, to hear mass; to have but one person that is sad and well-disposed to make his bed, and to make him fire, as he shall need; to have no books to look on, but only a portuous [breviary], a mass-book, a psalter, a legend, and a bible; to have nothing to write with; no stuff to write upon." Babingt. lvii.

[q] He speaks of Wyclif as "oon clerk, but verili to seie oon heritik." (Repr. 413.) Against the Hussites, see ib. 85.

attacks, he was popularly confounded with them,[r] so that the contemporary statutes of King's College, Cambridge, require the members to swear that they will not favour the opinions of Wyclif or of Pecock.[s] The books of the two become together the objects of a search and of a burning at Oxford in 1476;[t] and many writers, both on the Roman and on the Protestant side, have repeated the mistake of supposing their doctrines to have been nearly akin.[u] In some respects Pecock may be regarded as standing midway between the doctrines of Rome and those of the English reformation.[x] He was an advocate of toleration in an age when intolerance was regarded as a duty to the truth.[y] In the endeavour to distinguish between the provinces of reason and of Scripture—in maintaining that the warrant of Scripture need not be sought where reason is sufficient—he has been characterized as a forerunner of Hooker.[z] Although ignorant of Greek,[a] and although he was deceived by forgeries such as the pseudo-Dionysian books,[b] he has the merit of having exposed the donation of Constantine by a clear historical argument, independent of his contemporary Valla's more famous treatise.[c] That he was led into error by an excess of confidence in his judgment, is not to be denied; but of some of the opinions imputed to him he was wholly or partly guiltless. As to the fallibility of the church, he said nothing beyond what had before been

[r] See Hook, v. 294, 297.

[s] Lewis, 173; Babingt. lx.

[t] Wood, i. 630.

[u] See Babingt. lx.; Hook, v. 178, 293.

[x] Babingt. ii., vi. It may be noted that he distinguishes strongly between canonical and apocryphal scriptures. Repr. 251.

[y] Babingt. xxxii.

[z] Ib. lix. See Repressor, Pt. I., cc. 1-16, 20, 48; Waterl. vi. 259, 275, etc.

[a] Thus he connects Cephas with κεφαλή. Repr. 438.

[b] Ib. 170, 425, 446, etc.

[c] Ib. 358-66; Waterl. vi. 292; Babingt. 292. Dr. von Döllinger says that Pecock's exactness in the historical inquiry, according to the sources, contrasts remarkably with the undecided manner of Cusanus, who had also questioned the Donation (see above, p. 64), while Valla's treatise is rather an eloquent declamation than a calm historical inquiry. Papstfabeln, 104.

said by Marsilius of Padua, by Nicolas of Clemanges, and others of the Paris academics; indeed it would seem that the opinions for which he was accused under this head were merely put forward by way of suppositions on which he was willing to argue.[d] The charge that he denied the Holy Ghost was false;[e] and his omission of the Descent into Hell from the creed[f] was probably not a denial of the article as it is now generally understood, but of the gross construction which was put on it by the popular mind in the middle ages.[g]

VII. The religious ferment in Bohemia gave rise to some extreme manifestations in addition to those already mentioned. John of Trittenheim tells us of a party who were styled *fossarii*, from their custom of meeting by night in ditches and caves. He describes them as practising promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, as despising the church and its ministers, as mocking at the sacraments, and "full of errors without end." Their numbers had increased rapidly, so that in the year 1501 they were more than 19,000, and among those who had joined them were many men of rank and influence.[h] But perhaps we may question the accuracy of a statement which in its worst features so closely resembles the charges imputed to many denominations of heretics in one generation after another.

On the death of George Podibrad, the Bohemian estates chose for their king a Polish prince, Ladislaus, who, as the see of Prague was still vacant, was crowned by two Polish bishops.[i] Although the pope, Sixtus IV., refused to acknowledge any other king of Bohemia than

[d] Waterl. vi. 255, 258; Babingt. li.

[e] Ib. l.

[f] Whethamst. 491; Gasc. 511, 542. Like Valla (see p. 130), he denied the apostolic authorship of the creed. Gasc. 546.

[g] Babingt. xliv., xlvii. Prof. Lechler is very full on Pecock. ii. 353, seqq.

[h] Chron. Sponh., A.D. 1501.

[i] Rayn. 1471. 29, seqq.; Schröckh, xxxiv. 742.

Matthias Corvinus, of Hungary, Ladislaus, by the aid of his father, king Casimir, was able to make good his claims; and eventually he succeeded Matthias in the kingdom of Hungary also.[k] In 1478 the Roman party endeavoured to compel the utraquists to relinquish their peculiar usages; but in the following year a peace was concluded, by which the utraquists obtained a confirmation of the compactata, and an acknowledgment that it was not heretical to receive the holy eucharist under both kinds.[l] Further troubles ensued; the utraquists, not content with their late gains, spoke of requiring the king to attend their churches, and to receive in both kinds; and in other respects their violence was such that Ladislaus found it necessary to banish some of their leaders, and even to put some of them to death.[m] In 1485 a fresh treaty was concluded, by which each of the great parties was to enjoy perfect freedom of religion. It was provided that, on a vacancy in any parish, a new incumbent should be chosen from the same party to which his predecessor had belonged; and the king consented that the utraquists should on their side elect an administrator for the archbishoprick of Prague. The peace thus established continued in force, although not without occasional disturbances,[n] throughout the reign of Ladislaus, who died in 1516.[o]

VIII. About the middle of the fifteenth century, some divines appeared in Germany who may be said, in their views of nature and grace, of justification and kindred subjects, to have anticipated the Saxon reformation. Of these the most noted were John of Goch, John of Wesel, and John Wessel.[p]

[k] Rayn. 1470. 12; Schröckh, xxxiv. 742; Giesel. II. iv. 456.

[l] Schröckh, xxxiv. 742-3; Giesel. C.

[m] Schröckh, xxxiv. 743.

[n] See Rayn. 1504. 27, seqq.; 1508. 15, seqq.

[o] Schröckh, xxxiv. 744.

[p] For others, see Giesel. II. iv. 465, seqq.

John Pupper, who was commonly named after his birthplace, Goch, near Cleves, was born in the beginning of the century,[q] and is supposed to have been educated at the university of Paris; but nothing is known with certainty as to the history of his early life.[r] In 1451, when he was about fifty years old, he founded a convent for canonesses at Mechlin, and entered into holy orders.[s] The remainder of his days was spent in the office of prior of this institution, and he died in 1475.[t] During his lifetime he was never molested on account of his opinions, which seem to have been then known only to a narrow circle of persons who agreed with him;[u] nor can any distinct influence of them be traced in the reformers of the following century.[x]

The second of the teachers above named, John Richrath or Ruchrath, of Wesel, was born at Oberwesel, on the Rhine, at some time between the years 1400 and 1420.[y] He studied, and afterwards taught, at Erfurt; and the continuance of his influence in that university appears from Luther's speaking of himself as having prepared himself for the degree of master of arts by the study of John of Wesel's books.[z] While at Erfurt, John was roused to indignation by the preaching of indulgences in connexion with the jubilee of 1450. He wrote not only against the grosser abuses of the system, but against the principle on which it was founded;[a] yet he was allowed to proceed to the degree of doctor of divinity in 1456, and was appointed preacher at Worms in 1461-2. In this office he gained great popularity; but he excited enmity by attacking the faults of the clergy,

[q] Ullmann, 'Reformers before the Reformation,' transl. in Clark's Foreign Library, i. 17.

[r] Ib. 19-20.

[s] Ib. 21-2.

[t] Ib. 27.

[u] Ib. 134.

[x] Goch's works are chiefly in Walch's 'Monumenta.'

[y] Ullm. i. 218.

[z] Werke, xxi. 284, ed. Leipz. 1733; Ullm. i. 229-30.

[a] Ib. 258, 272.

and by inconsiderate language—as when he declared that if St. Peter instituted fasting, it was probably with a view to getting a better market for his fish;[b] so that his friend Wessel, while admiring his learning and ability, was compelled to lament his extravagance and indiscretion.[c]

In 1479 John was brought by the bishop of Worms before a court at Mentz on a charge of heresy. He was accused of intimacy with Jews and Hussites, and even of being secretly a Hussite bishop;[d] of denying the authority of the church as to the exposition of Scripture; of denying the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son; of denying original sin; of denying the powers of the Christian ministry, and the distinction of presbyters from bishops and popes; of opposing many rites of the church, the celibacy of the clergy, the use of ecclesiastical vestments, the practice of fasting, and the sacrament of extreme unction.[e] Archbishop Diether, who felt himself obliged to take the matter up lest he should again lose his see,[f] requested the assistance of doctors from Cologne and Heidelberg for the inquiry. The accused was old, was weak from illness, and was hard pressed by the members of the court. He declared that he had said nothing against the authority of the church, and disowned some other things which were imputed to him: but he expressed a wish to retract all errors, and, on the sixth day of the examination, he submitted to make a general retractation.[g] His writings were burnt, and he

[b] Giesel. II. iv. 487. At his trial, he was asked whether he had preached at Wiesbaden, that whoever sees the sacrament of the eucharist sees the devil; but to this his answer was "Non credit." Trithem. Chron. Sponh., A.D. 1479.

[c] Ullm. i. 340. "Exorbitantes illæ et populo scandalosæ absurditates." (Giesel. l. c., quoting Wessel's works, 920.)

[d] Ullm. i. 332; Giesel. IV. iii. 470. The report of the trial is in the 'Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug.' i. 327, seqq.; cf. Trithem. Chron. Sponh., A.D. 1479. H. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Wesel, Joh. von.*

[e] Fascic. i. 325-6, 331; Argentré, i. 291; Trithem. l. c.

[f] See p. 174; Fascic. i. 327.

[g] Ib. 327, seqq.; Trithem. 391 Ullm. i. 342, 343, 360.

was committed to the convent of Augustinian friars at Mentz, where he soon after died. The reporter of the case expresses an opinion that, except as to the procession of the Holy Spirit, John, if time had been allowed him, might have defended himself with success; that as a secular and a nominalist he suffered disadvantage from a tribunal of monastic and realistic judges: and he mentions some divines of note as having been disgusted by the unfairness of the process.[h]

John Wessel,[i] who was styled by his admirers "The light of the world," while his opponents styled him "The master of contradictions,"[k] was born at Groningen about 1429,[l] and was educated for a time under the Brethren of the Common Life at Zwolle, where it has been supposed that he was known to Thomas of Kempten.[m] From Zwolle he went to the university of Cologne, where he studied theology, the oriental languages, and ancient philosophy. He complained that the ordinary course of reading was confined to the works of Thomas of Aquino and Albert the Great;[n] and he preferred Plato to Aristotle. For sixteen years he taught at Paris, where, from having been a realist, he became a nominalist;[o] and he afterwards visited Italy, where he renewed an acquaintance formed in France with pope Sixtus IV. It is said that, on being desired by Sixtus to choose a gift, he made choice of a Bible in the original tongues, from the Vatican Library; and when the pope

[h] Fascic. i. 332.

He is also called Gansfort, a name which has been supposed to have been taken from some place where his family had been settled. But no place so called can be found, so that the name is more probably Goosefoot, and was given to him because he was lame ("altero pedis talo nonnihil distorto," says Hardenberg, in the notice prefixed to Wessel's works). Ullm. ii. 266-7, 269.

[k] This name was first given "a malevolis et invidis, quo nomine postea omnes academici eum vocabant." Hardenb. [unpaged].

[l] Ullm. ii. 265. Hardenberg places his birth twenty years earlier.

[m] Ullm. ii. 269-70.

[n] Hardenb.; Ullm. ii. 278, 287.

[o] Hardenb.

laughingly asked why he had not rather desired a bishopric, he answered that he did not need such things.[p] In 1477, Wessel was invited by Philip, elector-palatine, to Heidelberg;[q] but the theological faculty of the university refused to admit him as a member, because he had not taken the degree of doctor, and declined to qualify himself for it by receiving the tonsure. He therefore taught as a philosophical lecturer, and was much engaged in disputes with the party whose opinions he had abandoned.[r] The prosecution of John of Wesel led him to expect a like attack on himself; but this fear was needless, and his last years, during which most of his extant works were written, were spent in quiet at his native town, where he was sheltered from the malice of enemies by the favour of the archbishop of Utrecht and the bishop of Münster.[s] Wessel died in 1489. Luther said of him, "If I had read his works earlier, my enemies might have thought that I derived everything from him, so much does the spirit of the two agree."[t] Yet as to the doctrine of the eucharist, Wessel seems to have been a forerunner rather of the Zwinglian than of the Lutheran reformation.[u]

[p] Hardenb.; Ullm. ii. 313, 321, 324. The truth of the story has been questioned.

[q] Ullm. ii. 331-2. Hardenberg misplaces this.

[r] Ullm. ii. 309, 310, 333.

[s] Schröckh, xxxiii. 280; Ullm. ii. 339-40.

[t] Luth. ap. Wessel. 854. See for his opinions, Giesel. II. iv. 493, seqq. and Ullmann; also H. Schmidt in Herzog, art. *Wessel*.

[u] Ullm. ii. 506-37.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. *The Hierarchy.*

(1.) The councils of Constance and Basel, by asserting the supremacy of general councils, and by endeavouring to re-establish the independence of the episcopate, appeared to overthrow the power which the popes had gradually built up; and by the rules which they laid down for the regular meeting of general councils at short intervals, it seemed as if the right of control which they had asserted over the papacy were secured. But in the event, these apparent victories proved nugatory. The popes were always ready to act, and able to take advantage of all circumstances, while councils must in any case have been rare and unwieldy. The pope chosen at Constance, Martin V., from the very time of his election asserted the claims of his office in a manner which reduced much of the council's acts to a nullity. The council of Basel, by its imprudent assumptions and its mismanagement, allowed its adversary Eugenius to triumph over it. The decrees for periodical councils were never carried into execution; the appeals which were frequently made to future general councils were fruitless; for the popes always found some pretext for eluding not only the decree of Constance, but the solemn promises which they themselves had made on this subject at their election. And against the councils of Constance and Basel they were able to set those of Florence and the Lateran, by the last of which the pragmatic sanction of Bourges, the only result of the council of Basel which had remained until then, was abolished.

The fathers of Basel, indeed, in their attempts to reduce the papacy to its proper limits, felt themselves hampered by the system in which they had been trained, and were unable to rid themselves of its restraints, as a larger acquaintance with Christian antiquity would have enabled them to do.[a]

The critical spirit of Valla and others had opened men's eyes to the spuriousness of such documents as the donation of Constantine and the false decretals.[b] Yet these exposures seem to have as yet had less effect than might have been expected, and to have been little urged to their consequences as affecting the authority of the church in whose interest the forgeries had been executed.[c]

At first the pope had been spoken of as the "ministerial head" of the church[d]—a term by which it was meant that he was not entitled to give laws to the church, but that these ought to proceed from councils. But in opposition to such doctrines, some writers in the papal interest now vented extravagances even greater than those which we have had occasion to notice in earlier ages.[e] It was maintained that the pope was infallible and absolute.[f] All power, temporal as well as spiritual, was ascribed to him; it was said that he might not only depose emperors and kings, but might extinguish empires and kingdoms, even without cause;[g] that, as being the

[a] Planck, v. 752-7, 760-1.

[b] See pp. 64, 138, 353. In Æneas Sylvius's 'Pentalogus,' Caspar Schlick is made to treat the donation as a forgery, and another speaker seems to imply the same. Pez, IV. iii. 679.

[c] Giesel. II. iv. 217.

[d] "Etsi sit caput ministeriale ecclesiæ, non tamen est major tota ecclesia." (Labbe, xii. 682.) "Romanus pontifex est universalis ecclesiæ minister, non dominus" (Ib. 721). See Giesel. II. iv. 214.

[e] See vol. vii. p. 107. For such things John Sarrazin was condemned by the Paris faculty of theology to retract in 1429. Argentré, i. 227.

[f] See Joh. de Turrecremata and others, in Giesel. II. iv. 226-9.

[g] Ib. 220, 223; Matth. Cracov. de Squaloribus Rom. Curiæ, in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. i. 598, seqq. In 1483 (under Sixtus IV.) an envoy from the emperor Frederick, in urging before the college of cardinals that a German bishop should be made a cardinal, repeatedly spoke of the emperor as monarch of the world.

source of all spiritual power, he was entitled to do, by his immediate authority, whatever the local bishop might do in any diocese;[h] that appeals ought to be carried, not from a pope to a council, but from a general council to the pope.[i] It was asserted that Constantine's supposed donation was not a gift, but a partial restitution, inasmuch as the pope is rightly lord of all;[k] and while in France such opinions were condemned by parliaments and universities, the sovereigns of other countries sometimes found their account in admitting them—as the Spaniards and Portuguese were glad to avail themselves of the papal sanction for their conquests in the countries which they had discovered.[l]

Popes now began to bestow complimentary titles on kings as tokens of their favour. Thus, after the repeal of the pragmatic sanction, Lewis XI. of France was styled by Pius II. (or, according to some authorities, by Paul II.) "Most Christian." Alexander VI. was disposed to transfer this title to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, but at the request of his cardinals he bestowed on them instead of it the epithet of "Most Catholic."[m] Julius II. conferred on James IV. of Scotland the title of "Protector

The cardinal of Rouen (Estouteville) being unfavourable to the proposal, said "Male agis, Thoma, non tuus imperator, sed hic noster pontifex monarcha est orbis. Pati non possum Romanæ amplitudini detrahi." Tum ille, "Non omnium monarcham imperatorem dico; temporalium tantum intelligo." Et Rotomagensis, "Nec temporalium quoque illi est monarchia; jure divino et pontificio tota est Romani prædulis. Idem qui ex patribus jus didicere, uno judicio confirmarunt." Jac. Volaterr. in Murat. xxiii. 94.

[h] J. Turrecrem., etc., quoted by Giesel. II. iv. 224. See quotations from Gerson and others, for the independence of bishops (ib. 215). Gregory Heimburg writes, "Compagem ecclesiæ solus Papa solvit, qui membrorum officia præfocando impedit, et oppilando suffocat, ne quis episcoporum officium suum tute valeat explere, juncturas disjungit, confundens harmoniam, dum omnium officia solus sibi vindicat. Aufert corpori sanitatem, dum membra singula singulis officiis non sinit uti." Apol. c. Episc. Feltrensem. in Goldast, ii. 1616.

[i] Giesel. II. iv. 225.

[k] Ib. 226-8. "Cum omnia sint de Christi dominio, cujus papa est vicarius in terris." Antonin. in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. i. 159.

[l] See p. 334; Giesel. II. iv. 232-3.

[m] Rayn. 1496. 25; Comines, in Petitot, xiii. 217. See above, p. 318. Schröckh, xxxii. 440.

of the Christian Faith;[n] and as is well known, Henry VIII. of England was rewarded for his book against Luther by being styled "Defender of the Faith."[o]

The secular power of the popes entered during this time on a new stage of its development. This advance began, as we have seen, with Sixtus IV., and it was carried further by his successors. The dominion which Cæsar Borgia had gained for himself by the acquisition of the Romagna, and by the subjugation of the unruly barons, fell, on the collapse of his power, to the Roman church;[p] and Julius II. further extended the temporal sovereignty of the papacy. Thus, in addition to his spiritual pretensions, the pope became a great Italian prince; and, as Italy was now the chief subject of contention between the greatest sovereigns of the continent, his alliance in that character was very important, and he acquired much political influence.[q]

(2.) While the papacy was thus for a time triumphing over all hindrances, the empire continued to sink.[r] Sigismund, indeed, had been enabled by circumstances to assert his office as advocate and protector of the church at Constance and at Basel; but he was unable to maintain throughout the elevation which he had thus attained.[s] The long and inglorious reign of Frederick III. reduced the imperial dignity to the lowest point; and Maximilian's attempts to restore it were foiled by his want of

[n] Collier, ii. 455.

[o] Lingard, iv. 467-8. Julius II., at the time of the council at Pisa, had promised to make him "Most Christian," instead of Lewis XII. Ib.

[p] Machiav. Il Principe, c. 11.

[q] Giesel. II. iv. 234.

[r] "Sed est omnium potestatum vicissitudo. Olim Cæsarea dignitas ingens fuit, nunc sedes apostolica major est. Cujus auctoritatem post traditas Petro claves regni cœlorum semper fuisse majorem putaverim, potestatem sæpe minorem." (Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frider. in Kollar, ii. 276.) "Papatus nostris temporibus tantopere superat imperium" (Id. Pentalog. in Pez, III. iii 648). See also quotations in Schard, Syntagma, 515-17. Yet elsewhere Piccolomini magnifies the empire as a secular papacy. De Ortu et Authoritate Imperii, in Goldast, ii. 1558.

[s] Schmidt, iv. 644.

means for carrying them out, and by his own rash and inconstant character. The emperors were without any adequate provision for the expenses of their position. The crown lands, the tolls of the Rhine, and other sources of revenue had been alienated by capitulations with the electoral princes, or by other improvident grants.[t] The taxes on Jews and on the cities of the empire had been redeemed. For the means of supporting his dignity, and for the expenses of war, the emperor was obliged to rely on the diet of the empire; and thus he found himself in an unseemly condition of dependence.[u] At the same time the other chief sovereigns of Europe —the kings of France, England, and Spain—by the union of territories, by the subjection of great feudatories and nobles, or otherwise, had become much stronger than before; so that the emperor, although bearing a far loftier title, although it was for him to bestow royal and ducal dignities, was really inferior in power to them, and even to his vassal duke Charles of Burgundy, or to the trading republic of Venice.[x] Yet while his real authority and importance were thus waning, the theory of his grandeur was elaborated more than ever by jurists, whose invention was stimulated by the doctrines of canonists as to the papacy.[y] The empire, according to the jurists, was "holy," and independent of the ecclesiastical power; the emperor was lord paramount and "monarch" of all the world, so that from him all secular dominion was supposed to be derived.[z]

(3.) The popes continued to interfere with ecclesiastical patronage of all sorts, and their interference was often resented.[a] In England, by appointing resident legates

[t] Schmidt, iv. 515; Bryce, 246-7.

[u] Coxe, i. 339; Schmidt, iv. 517-18; Bryce, 247.

[x] Ib. 280, 335-6.

[y] Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 53; Bryce, 298.

[z] See p. 361, n. 8; Giesel. II. iv. 209

[a] How far they had got the disposal of English bishopricks into their hands appears from bishop Bekynton's correspondence, edited by the Rev

... *later*, and by inducing the archbishops of Canterbury to accept the office, they acquired a new power over the church, as the government of it appeared thenceforth to be exercised by delegation from the Roman see.[b] In Scotland there were some demonstrations of independence;[c] but the popes at their own will erected the sees of St. Andrew's and Glasgow into archbishopricks, and granted such exemptions from the archiepiscopal authority as they thought fit.[d] James IV. is found expressing great

George Williams in the 'Chron. and Mem. of G. B.'; and Theiner's 'Monumenta' show a vast amount of interference with Irish, and still more with Scotch, preferment. One of the letters published by Father Theiner gives us a strange idea of the state of the Irish church. In 1516, the "Episcopatus Cluanensis" [seemingly Clonfert], having become vacant by the translation of its bishop to Tuam, Quintin Ohygim was recommended by Henry VIII. to the pope, who thereupon ordered an inquiry as to the existence of the church, and as to the qualities of the nominee. The result of the evidence was—"In Hybernia insula orientem versus in provincia Tuamensi esse Cluanensem civitatem, sitam inter sylvas, casarum ex palea et viminibus fere duodecim, a cujus parte læva labitur fluvius, qui eorum lingua Sinin [Shannon] appellatur, et distat a mari per iter unius dici. A parte sinistra occidentem versus esse ecclesiam cathedralem dirutam, sine tecto, cum uno tantum altari parvo, stramine tecto, cum uno paramento vili, cruce ex ære, habens unum campanile cum duabus campanis, et parvam sacristiam; valoris 33 ducatorum, qui constant ex frumento et ordeo, ex quo conficiuntur cervosa. . . . Raro celebratur missa. In ea est corpus unius Beati Hybernici, cujus nomen testis ignorat (probably St. Brendan: see Acta SS., Mai 16, p. 600), et sub ejus invocatione est ecclesia." (P. 513.)

A story is told by Andrew of Ratisbon as to the appointment of a bishop to that see, in 1428. A canon, who had been elected by the chapter, found on applying to Martin V. for confirmation, that a hostile party had represented him to the pope as one-eyed and lame. The pope "provided" for the bishoprick by appointing his own cross-bearer, and when the bishop-elect appeared at Rome, "proceræ staturæ et formæ speciosus," he found that the cross-bearer was already in possession; "hora jam transierat, quia tempus unicuique rei sub cœlo." Eccard, i. 2156-7.

[b] Hook, v. 89, 174, etc.

[c] See p. 455; Tytler, iv. 145-7.

[d] St. Andrew's was made archiepiscopal by Sixtus IV. in 1472, after an inquiry by card. Borgia. (Theiner, 465; Grub, i. 376.) Sixtus afterwards appointed the dean of Soest (in Westphalia) to inquire into the conduct of archbishop Patrick Graham, who, having become disordered in mind, was sentenced to be deposed, and imprisoned for life in a monastery. (Theiner, 478; Grub, i. 385; Cunningham, i. 200.) The bishoprick of Aberdeen was, in 1473, exempted from the jurisdiction of St. Andrew's during the life of bishop Spence. (Theiner, 473.) Glasgow was exempted in 1578, and was afterwards made an archbishoprick. (Ib. 502, 505.) On the other hand, the pope says that, since the see has become archiepiscopal,

thankfulness to Julius II. for having appointed his illegitimate son, Alexander Stuart, while yet a boy, to the primacy of Scotland, and requesting that a bishoprick may be bestowed on a Dominican who was employed in the administration of the province during the archbishop's minority.[e] There were continual endeavours on the part of sovereigns to prevent the occupation of benefices in their dominions by alien and non-resident incumbents,[f] whom the pope took it upon himself to nominate. But the same argument from practical results by which Frederick Barbarossa had endeavoured to show that the disposal of bishopricks was better placed in the hands of sovereigns than of chapters,[g] was used by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini in behalf of the papal patronage.[h] And when raised to the papacy he introduced the new abuse of charging preferments with the payment of pensions to cardinals, or to officials of the Roman court.[i]

(4.) As the crown became stronger in various countries, the sovereigns showed a disposition to limit the power of the church in various ways.[k] Thus they forbade appeals to Rome, and the introduction of Roman documents into their dominions, except with their previous knowledge and licence.[l] Old grievances are found continually recurring; as when the popes and the English clergy complain of the statutes of *præmunire*, and the popes com-

it would be "absurd" to continue the exemption of certain monasteries from its authority. (Ib. 370.) See Jos. Robertson, Introd. to Scottish Councils, 109-15, 119, 121.

[e] Gairdner, Rich. III. and Henry VII. ii. 189, 190. The young archbishop was a pupil of Erasmus (by whom he is highly praised, Ep. 1257), and fell by his father's side at Flodden.

[f] *E.g.*, Preuves des Lib. de l'Egl Gall. 412.

[g] See vol. v. p. 353.

[h] "Etsi unum Romanus pontifex minus dignum presbyterio donavit, supra mille invenias rudes, ignaros, hebetes et prorsus ineptos ab ordinariis esse promotos." De Moribus Germanorum, Opera, 1048-9.

[i] Planck, v. 494.

[k] For their gains in the matter of patronage, see Ranke, Hist. of Popes, i. 34-42.

[l] Preuves des Lib. 226, 275; Giesel. II. iv. 247.

plain that their collectors are arrested and imprisoned.[m] The immunities claimed by the clergy, and the boundaries of secular and spiritual jurisdiction, are also frequent subjects of contest. Thus we find that spiritual courts are forbidden to meddle with the suits of laymen, that the secular affairs of the clergy are brought before secular tribunals, and that such courts exercise criminal jurisdiction over ecclesiastics.[n] The parliament of Paris took it on itself to commit bishops to prison.[o] The control exercised by the Venetian republic over its clergy has appeared in the course of our story.[p] Henry VII. of England enacted that clerks convicted of crimes should be burnt in the hand; and for this he was afterwards denounced by Perkin Warbeck as an invader of the rights of holy church.[q]

But where the popes were masters, the clerical immunities were jealously preserved. Thus, on Ascension day 1487, the gonfaloniere and another magistrate of Bologna did penance in St. Peter's at Rome, for having exceeded their jurisdiction by hanging a Franciscan and a secular priest. The gonfaloniere was deprived of all office and dignity. He and his companion were flogged by the penitentiaries of the church while the psalm *Miserere* was chanted, and after this they were solemnly rebuked by the pope. The deposed chief magistrate was required to build and endow a chapel at Bologna, and on every Sunday and holy-day to attend mass in it, kneeling from the beginning to the end of the

[m] *E.g.*, Wilk. iii. 523, 533, 540, 555, 578, 584; Collier, iii. 352.

[n] Giesel. II. ii. 244-6. See, *e.g.*, Rayn. 1427. 19; 1436. 28 (Portugal); Ib. 29 (Scotland); 1484. 6 (Scotland); Tytler, iv. 310-11 (Scotland); Bull of Sixtus IV. in Hard. ix. 1494, etc. There is in Goldast, ii. 1648, a tract by Bernard de Laureto, a lawyer, on the rights of secular magistrates as to offending clergy.

[o] Preuves des Lib. 159, seqq.; Giesel. II. iv. 247.

[p] Pp. 220, 302.

[q] Bacon, 66. See the attempts to assert the clerical immunities in Wilk. iii. 610, 613; and Innocent VIII.'s letter to Henry. Ib. 617.

service with a burning taper in his hand, and to pray for the souls of the ecclesiastics on whom he had presumed to execute justice.[r]

(5.) Complaints as to the defects of the clergy are as loud and as frequent as before. We read of the greed and corruption of the Roman court, of simony in all quarters,[s] of neglect of spiritual duties, of the ignorance and rudeness of the lower clergy,[t] of their seeking to eke out their income by farming, keeping shops or taverns, and other unsuitable occupations;[u] and the effects of enforced celibacy were scandalously evident. As the church would not relax its rules on this point,[x] notwithstanding the opinion of some of its most enlightened members,[y] the great mass of the clergy lived in a state of concubinage. It was in vain that the councils of Constance and of Basel[z] forbade this, and that their decrees were echoed by provincial councils.[a] The

[r] Burchard, 92-3.

[s] Martin V. "considerata malitia temporum præteritorum pro simoniacis in foro conscientiæ absolvendis specialem gratiam fecit." Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 633.

[t] "Pudeat Italiæ sacerdotes, quos ne semel quidem novam legem constat legisse, apud Taboritas vix mulierculam invenimus quæ de Novo Testamento et Veteri respondere nesciat." Æn. Sylv. Opera, 480.

[u] *E.g.*, Herm. Ryd. de Vita et Honestate Clericorum, in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. ii. 135, seqq., 142, seqq.; Opus Tripartitum, ib. 223, seqq.; Conc. Tolet. 1473, in Hard. ix.; Conc. Senon. 1485, c. 6; Rayn. 1473. 20; 1485. 27; Giesel. II. iv. 236-7, 253. The satires of the time are strongly against the clergy. Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 279.

[x] The military orders, however, were, in consequence of scandals, exempted by Eugenius IV. and Alexander VI. Rayn. 1496. 39, 40.

[y] See vol. vii. p. 69. Pecock seems to be in favour of marriage. (Repressor, 375-7.) Pius II. is reported to have said, "Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublatas nuptias, majori restituendas videri." (Platina, 331.) The emperor Sigismund said, "We must not blame the Greeks as to marriage, for they content themselves with one woman, whereas the Latins have ten or more." Lenf. i. 325; see Giesel. II. iv. 263.

[z] Hard. viii. 1195.

[a] See, *e.g.*, M. de Coussy, in Monstrel. ed. Buchon, xi. 254. A council at Cologne, in 1423, orders the clergy to put away their concubines within nine days, but explains that this applies only to *notorious* and *public* concubinage (cc. 1, 9). Gascoigne mentions a case of some Welsh clergy who begged their bishop that they might be separated from their concubines; but he refused, lest he should lose income. (Hemingford, ed. Hearne, 521-2.) The licensing of concubinage

example of the popes, in openly bringing forward their illegitimate children, in heaping church-preferment or lands on them, and in labouring to connect them by marriage with reigning families, could not but produce an effect. The contagion of evil spread to the lower clergy, and from the clergy to the laity,[b] so that a general demoralization ensued. Yet after all the overwhelming evidence which experience had afforded as to the mischievous effects of compulsory celibacy, it is remarkable that, when the authorities of the Roman church were driven by the success of the protestant movement to attempt an internal reformation, this point of discipline was one as to which no reform or modification was introduced.

II. *Monasticism.*

(1.) Of the orders which arose in the fifteenth century, the most remarkable was that of Eremites of St. Francis, or Minims, founded, as we have already seen, by St. Francis of Paola,[c] and approved by Sixtus IV. in 1474. It was a branch of the Franciscan community, and was

was absolutely forbidden by the concordat of Bologna. (Tit. 29; Hard. ix. 1878; see Giesel. II. iv. 258.) A council at Paris, in 1429, decrees that, as many candidates for the order of subdeacon are not aware that it involves an obligation to chastity, this must be explained to them. (c. 8.) There is only too ample information on these matters in Theiner, ii. 675, seqq.; Giesel. II. iv. 255, seqq., and Lea, 'Sacerdotal Celibacy,' Philadelphia, 1867.

[b] See Giesel. II. iv. 260-1. "Alexander consuetudinem jam cœptam per Innocentium de maritanda prole fœminina prosecutus est et ampliavit. Incumbit igitur clerus omnis, et quidem cum diligentia, circa sobolem procreandam. Itaque a majori usque ad minimum concubinas in figura matrimonii, et quidem publice, attinent. Quod nisi a Deo provideatur, transibit hæc corruptio usque ad monachos et religiosos, quamvis monasteria urbis quasi omnia jam facta sunt lupanaria, nemine contradicente." (Infess. 2011.) "Una volta te vergonavi de' tuoi peccati, ma ora non più. Una volta i sacerdoti chiamavano nipoti i loro figliuoli; ora non più nipoti, ma figliuoli, figliuoli per tutto." Savon. in Villari, ii. 4.

[c] See p. 224; Holsten. iii. 84, seqq.; Helyot, vii. 427, seqq.

distinguished by extraordinary strictness—as that the members were to observe the severity of Lenten diet throughout the whole year.[d] There were sisters and tertiaries attached to the order—the last under a milder rule in respect of food.[e] From the founder's native Italy, and from France, where his last years were spent, this order spread into Spain, and it is said to have numbered about 450 houses in the beginning of the eighteenth century.[f]

(2.) The mendicant orders continued to enjoy much popularity, and endeavoured, as before, to supplant the secular clergy utterly in the respect and affection of the laity.[g] They were thoroughly devoted to the papacy, except, indeed, when it failed to favour them; and this it seldom ventured on with such resolute and valuable allies. Alexander VI. is reported to have said that it was safer to offend any powerful king than a Franciscan or a Dominican.[h] The mendicants did not scruple to use pretended visions, miracles, and other such tricks for the furtherance of their purposes. For a time the Franciscans were ordered to refrain from setting forth their founder's stigmata, and the Dominicans were forbidden to represent St. Catharine of Siena with similar marks.[i] But the flights of the Franciscans in honour of their great saint became, if possible, more extravagant than before;[k]

[d] "Vita quadragesimalis." See especially c. 6 of the Rule, in Holstenius, t. iii.

[e] Ib. pp. 77-81, 85.

[f] Giannone, iv. 530; Schröckh, xxxiii. 181-4. After the founder's death absurd stories of miracles, imitated from those of St. Francis of Assisi, were told with a view to obtaining his canonization. Giesel. II. iv. 318.

[g] See Fuller, ii. 475; Giesel. II. iv. 288, 295. In Italy, however, there was much contempt for friars, the Benedictines being in better reputation. Burckhardt, 367-8, 371.

[h] Erasmus, Exseq. Seraph., Opera, t. i. 872.

[i] Mart. Coll. Ampl. ii. 1382; Wadding, viv. 37-43. Trithemius tells us of a female tertiary of St. Dominic, at Ferrara, who had the stigmata, which emitted blood, and were especially painful on Wednesdays and Fridays. Chron. Sponh. 412.

[k] See, *e. g.*, a list of absurdities which were condemned by the Sorbonne, in 1486. Argentré, ii. 318; Giesel. II. iv. 300.

and, if more active than other orders, they directed most of their labours to the advancement of popular superstitions and of papal assumptions, or to the exclusive glorification of their own brotherhood.[l] It was believed that Paul II. was about to publish letters, drawn up by Calixtus III., depriving the mendicants of all their special privileges;[m] but nothing came of this, and Sixtus, by bulls of 1474 and 1479, granted the Dominicans and the Franciscans a confirmation of all former favours.[n]

The Carmelites even outdid the Franciscans in their pretensions, asserting that the blessed Virgin every Saturday released from purgatory all those who had died in the scapulary of the order during the preceding week.[o] For this they professed to have the authority of bulls of John XXII. and of Alexander V.; and, although both these bulls were forgeries, the persistent audacity of the Carmelites extorted confirmations of the privilege from later popes.[p]

The chief check to the pretensions of the mendicants was opposed by the university of Paris, which condemned their invasion of the rights of the secular clergy,[q] compelled them to conform to its terms, and would not allow any of them to teach until he had gone through a course of study prescribed by its own authority. And when the friars procured bulls in their favour from Eugenius IV. and Nicolas V., they were required to swear that they would make no use of these documents.[r]

[l] Giesel. II. iv. 291, 296-9.

[m] Vita Sixti IV. in Murat. III. ii. 955.

[n] Wadding, xiv. 99-111, 224-9; Giesel. II. iv. 291. See as to the consequent contests, Rayn. 1515. 1; 1516. 1, 9, 11, 28, etc.; Martene, Coll. Ampl. 1262-7.

[o] See vol. vi. p. 423.

[p] Clement VII. in 1530 and Paul V. in 1613. (Giesel. II. iv. 301.) See Launoy's dissection of the case in his treatise 'De Simonis Stochii viso,' etc.

[q] Wadding, xiii. 33; Argentré, i. 304; Giesel. II. iv. 293. In France the pretensions of the friars provoked some writers to maintain that curates derived their commission not from bishops, but like them, from the Saviour's institution. Giesel. II. iv. 250-2.

[r] Ib. 292-4.

(3.) Complaints of a decay in monastic discipline, and attempts at a reformation, are found throughout the period.[s] The council of Constance projected a large scheme of reform; but it remained without effect.[t] The council of Basel was more successful in this respect.

In northern Germany a reformation was begun by the regular canons of Windesheim, and was so satisfactory that these were employed, under a commission from the legate Nicolas of Cusa, to carry out a similar work elsewhere.[u] But in this they met with much difficulty. Monks were not more seriously in need of reform[x] than determined to resist any attempt to reform them. In some places they had recourse to violence. One monk threatened to stab the visitor, John Busch, with a knife; another, to cut his throat with a pair of scissors; and it was sometimes necessary to put down opposition by the help of the secular power.[y]

A.D. 1451.

[s] Giesel. II. iv. 271-2; *e.g.*, Conc. Paris. 1424, in Hard. viii. 1043; Conc. Senon. A.D. 1485, Art. iii. cc. 1-2. As to the Camaldolites, see Ambros. Camald. Epp. v. 2, 12-14, etc. (Martene, Coll. Ampl. iii.)

[t] V. d. Hardt, i. 703; Giesel. II. iv. 272, seqq.

[u] See Joh. Busch de Reformatione Monasteriorum quorundum in Saxonia, in Leibnitz, ii. 486, 504, 956. We find here something opposite to the faults which were more common,—viz., that two monks had become insane through excessive abstinence. Consequently it was resolved that all should have it in their power to feed well, and that candidates for admission should be questioned whether they ate well, slept well, and were willing to obey, these being the three main points of monastic life, and every one of them being necessary for perseverance. (Busch. Chron. Windesh., ed. Rosweyd, quoted by Giesel. II. iv. 273.) So in Leibn. ii. 846, Busch praises an abbot for making his monks comfortable: "Novit enim quod fratres sui homines sint, non angeli; Saxones, non Teutonici," etc.

[x] There are very curious details as to the decay of monastic discipline. Thus, at Ludinkerk, in Friesland, the monastery was occupied by *conversi*, who professed to know nothing of a rule, "Sed unusquisque nostrum aut monialem aut conversam aut aliam mulierem sibi assumpsit, cum qua sine copulatione matrimonii dormiret." The bishop of Utrecht decided that these were not *religiosi*, but were at liberty to leave the monastery, and to marry as laymen. 480. Cf. Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 383.

[y] Leibn. ii. 498, 842, 847, 852, 876, etc. In Book III. are some stories on other subjects, which can hardly be otherwise than fabulous; *e.g.*, of a monastery ("in partibus illis," but without any more distinct description) where an abbot who had been chosen for his dissoluteness, although he made

Some communities appealed to Rome against the visitors, but met with no success.[z] The nuns (as to whose morals and discipline the report is usually very unfavourable)[a] were yet more intractable than the men. In one place, although the visitors were supported by the authority of the duke of Brunswick, the nuns repeatedly declared that they had sworn not to reform, and that they would not become perjured. They threw themselves down on the pavement of the choir, with their limbs stretched out in the form of a cross, and shrieked out the anthem, "In the midst of life we are in death!"[b] They arranged the images of the saints in order, and placed lights between them, as if by way of defence against the supposed profanation.[c] At another convent the sisters not only sang the same ominous strain, but hurled their burning tapers at the commissioners and pelted them with earth and stones.[d] Even miracles were alleged in opposition to reform, while on the other side there are stories of judgments which befell the refractory.[e]

no improvement in his own habits, was so provoked by finding that his monks would not be reformed, that he burnt the house with all of them in it. 929.

[z] Leibn. ii. 832, 848, 852, etc. When the abp. of Magdeburg attempted in 1461 to reform the great Franciscan convent there, the monks fulminated ecclesiastical censures against him and his associates, as despisers of privileges and exemptions granted by the pope, and appealed to the Roman see. But they gained nothing by this. Wadding, xiii. 200.

[a] So Trithemius says of a nunnery at Bingen, "In quo omnes moniales illius temporis quibus per ætatem licebat, Veneri studiose famulantes, matres se esse, non virgines, gaudebant." Chron. Sponh., A.D. 1494.

[b] "Altissimis vocibus exclamantium." (See vol. iv. p. 183.) "Unde dux territus totam suam terram metuebat interire," and he needed to be reassured by Busch. He afterwards asked the nuns, "Cur non timetis antiphonam *Media Vita* super me cantare?" (859-60.) This anthem is elsewhere described as a proclamation "contra malefactores ecclesiæ," and as therefore sung by the chapter of Cambray against their bishop. Argentré, i. 345.

[c] Leibn. ii. 860. One of these nuns, on Busch's calling her *sister*, answered indignantly, "Vos non estis frater meus, quare me sororem vocatis? Frater meus ferro est vestitus, et vos linea veste." Ib.

[d] P. 863. For another troublesome nunnery, see pp. 897-8.

[e] Ib. 843, 845, 861, 917-18. One nun declared that, when the reformers came, she would stand in the garret window, and shout out, "*jodnyt, jodnyt*, id est *wapen* ("arms!") quod verbum

The English Benedictines underwent a reform under Henry V. about the year 1421.[f] A reform of those of Germany was begun at the monastery of Bursfeld, and was carried out elsewhere in imitation of the model which had been there established.[g] But these reforms were only partial; and sometimes, when monasteries which had accepted a reform found that their order in general held out against it, they formed themselves into separate congregations.[h]

Reforms were sometimes forced on reluctant communities by princes or bishops, and sometimes by distress consequent on the extravagance of some gay young abbot, who had wasted the revenues of his church, and thus indirectly became the means of bringing his brethren to a better mind.[i]

Among the greatest obstacles to reform was the practice of dividing the monastic income—a practice utterly contrary to the principle of monachism, but recommended by the independence and freedom from discipline which it encouraged. At the council of Constance a Cistercian failed in an endeavour to get this system acknowledged as lawful;[k] but it was too firmly rooted to be easily extirpated.[l]

est diffidationis," so as to raise all the dependants of the convent for defence. But on attempting to carry out this, she found that she could neither utter a word nor close her mouth, until she gave up her intention. 886.

[f] Wilk. iii. 413-27, 462; Walsingh. ii. 337-8.

[g] Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 350; Busch, 842; Giesel. II. iv. 274. Of the Benedictines Busch says, "Qui strictissimam habent regulam, et fratres multos, multum vagos, dissolutos, lubricos et incontinentes, proprietarios et inobedientes, perversos et rebelles." 844.

[h] Giesel. II. iv. 273; Leibn. ii. 977. Busch gives instances, and also mentions an order "fratrum voluntarie pauperum," which began at Hildesheim. They were simple laymen, and devoted much time to meditation of our Lord's life and passion, on their knees, in a way which he thinks impossible for clerks and learned men, whose minds are occupied by various matters, and cannot be so concentrated. 857-8.

[i] Giesel. II. 282, 284-5; see Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 374, 378.

[k] V. d. Hardt, i. 705, seqq.; iii. 120, seqq.

[l] Burckh. 849; Giesel. II. iv. 275.

III. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) The increase of festivals and ceremonies, of pilgrimages, relics, and fabulous legends, was not to be checked by the protests of those who had succeeded to the opinions of Gerson and his associates.[m] The alleged miracles of bleeding hosts, in particular, became more frequent, because they now served not only to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation in its coarsest form, but to justify the withdrawal of the eucharistic cup from the laity.[n] In some cases, however, these miracles seem to have been produced merely for the sake of gain; and hence cardinal Nicolas of Cusa, A.D. 1451. when legate in Germany, forbade the display of such hosts, and ordered that they should rather be consumed by the priests at mass. But this superstition was not to be so readily put down.[o] Occasion was not uncommonly taken from stories of outrages done by Jews to the consecrated host to set on foot a persecution against that people.[p]

(2.) Indulgences became more frequent than before, although the council of Constance had endeavoured to mitigate the abuse of them.[q] They were now offered for a great variety of objects: for the crusade against the Turks, which the popes continually dangled before the eyes of western Christendom, although without ever carrying it out; for any other expeditions, whether against heathens or against Christians, to which the popes might give the character of a crusade; for the jubilee, for visiting certain places, for performing certain devotions, for celebrating festivals,[r] and for the rebuilding

[m] Schröckh, xxxiii. 420, seqq.; Giesel. II. iv. 327-8.

[n] Ib. 329-30.

[o] Ib. 333-4.

[p] *E.g.*, Argentré, i. 324; Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, iv. 632; Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 1510, p. 433.

[q] Giesel. II. iv. 351-2.

[r] As the immaculate conception (Rayn. 1479. 34; Giesel. II. iv. 353). The monastery of Betzingerode having been rebuilt, at the dedication an indulgence of forty days was promised

of churches, especially for that of St. Peter's at Rome, which was undertaken by Julius II. in 1506. The indignation which these indulgences naturally provoked in the more discerning, was swelled by the impudent pretensions of the preachers who set them forth;[s] and this, on the occasion of the indulgence for St. Peter's, when renewed by Leo X., became the immediate occasion of Luther's defiance of Rome.[t]

That indulgences were applicable to souls departed, had been maintained by some of the schoolmen,—as Alexander of Hales, and Aquinas.[u] The doctrine received a practical application from Sixtus IV. in 1477, and from Innocent VIII. in 1490.[x] But the most remarkable exemplification of it was in the bull issued by Alexander VI. for the jubilee of 1500, when the faithful were invited to pay money towards the repair of St. Peter's, in order that indulgences might be bestowed on the souls of their friends in purgatory, "by the way of suffrage."[y] And this was imitated by Julius II. in his bull of 1510, for the rebuilding of the great church.[z]

(3.) The reverence for the blessed Virgin, which had already been excessive, was in this time carried yet further.[a] It was now that the fable of the "holy house" took form, and attracted multitudes of pilgrims to Loreto.[b] The festival of the "Compassion of the Blessed Virgin,"

by the bishop of Hildesheim to those who should call it by its new name, Marienwerder. (Leibn. ii. 452.) On the Roman traffic in pardons for all sorts of offences, see Bayle, artt. *Banck* and *Pinet*.

[s] Giesel. II. iv. 366-70. The questuaries, whose audacity had often caused disgust, were abolished by the council of Trent, Sess. 5 de Reformat. c. 2, sect. ult.; Sess. XXI.

[t] In some cases the papal offers of indulgence were exaggerated by forged documents. Giesel. II. iv. 365.

[u] Alex. Alens. P. IV. 9, xxiii. art. 2, membr. 5 (p. 639, ed. Colon. 1622); Thom. Aquin. Summa, suppl. Partis III. qu. 71, art. 10 (t. iv. 1246, ed. Migne); Giesel. II. ii. 515-19.

[x] Ib. iv. 355, 357.

[y] Rayn. 1499. 26.

[z] Giesel. II. iv. 357.

[a] As specimens of the language addressed to her, see the extracts from the "Mariale" of Bernardine de Bustis, a Franciscan (1494), in Schröckh, xxxiii. 372; Giesel. II. iv. 334.

[b] See vol. vi. p. 458.

in remembrance of her sufferings at the cross, was instituted on account of the outrages of the Hussites.[c] The festival of her Visitation was sanctioned by the council of Basel,[d] which also decreed in favour of the immaculate conception.[e] But this decree, as it was passed after the breach between the council and the pope, was not regarded as authoritative. Sixtus IV., after having in earlier life written in defence of the immaculate conception, sent forth as pope two bulls in favour of the doctrine. Yet the Franciscan pope was so far influenced by a regard for the power of the Dominicans that he did not venture to proscribe their contrary doctrine, but contented himself with forbidding the partisans of either opinion to denounce their opponents as guilty of heresy or of mortal sin, forasmuch as the matter had not yet been determined by the Roman church and by the apostolic see.[f]

Some universities, however, took a more decided line as to this matter. At Paris, a doctor named John le Ver (or Véry), in consequence of having preached at Dieppe against the immaculate conception, was required to retract;[g] and it was resolved A.D. 1494-7. that in future no theological student should be admitted, and no degree should be given, except on condition of swearing to maintain the immaculate conception.[h] This example of Paris was followed by similar decrees of the universities of Cologne and Mentz.[i]

The Dominicans, while they opposed the doctrine of the immaculate conception,[k] were yet unwilling to lose

[c] Conc. Colon. 1423, c. 11.

[d] Sess. 43, Hard. viii. 1292.

[e] Sess. 36, Sept. 17, 1439. See p. 81.

[f] Extrav. Commun. l. iii. De Reliquiis et Veneratione Sanctorum, cc. 1-2.

[g] Molinet, v. 81-3, ed. Buchon; Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 409; Rayn. 1497. 30; Bul. v. 815; Argentré, i. 336. See d'Argentré, i. 252, as to an earlier affair at Paris.

[h] Argentré, i. 333; Giesel. II. iv. 339-40.

[i] Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 410-13.

[k] John of Trittenheim speaks of it

the credit of devotion to the blessed Virgin. They therefore instituted the brotherhood of the Rosary, the members of which were bound to perform certain devotions in her honour while telling their beads.[1] But towards the end of the period the Dominicans attempted to support their doctrine by the help of an audacious imposture. The occasion grew out of a quarrel which took place at Frankfort between a member of the order, named Wigand Wirth, and the chief secular priest of the town;[m] but the Dominicans resolved that Berne should be the scene of their intended operations, as at Frankfort they had reason to fear the opposition of the archbishop of Mentz, whereas they reckoned on finding at Berne a people simple enough to be deceived and strong enough to maintain any opinion which they might embrace.[n] A young man of weak and credulous character, who had lately forsaken the trade of a tailor to enter into the order, was deluded by pretended visions, in which figures personating the blessed Virgin and other saints appeared to him, and professed to entrust him with revelations. Among other things, the representative of St. Mary charged him to inform pope Julius that she had been conceived in sin; and by way of a token, she impressed the stigma on one of his hands with a nail. At length the dupe's eyes were opened; and on his threatening to publish the deceits which had been

as held by all men except a few Dominicans (Chron. Sponh. 409), and relates that a Dominican, while preaching against it, was struck with apoplexy, which carried him off. Chron. Hirsaug., A.D. 1478.

[1] Giesel. II. iv. 296-8, 336-7. See vol. vi. p. 448.

[m] Wirth had already been engaged in a controversy on the subject with John of Trittenheim. See Chron. Sponh. 305-6.

[n] Hottinger, Hist. Ecclesiastica N. Test., Pars v. p. 362. "Bernenses esse potentes non ambigimus; esse tamen et credere simplices sine cachinno nequaquam recitamus." Hottinger's account of this affair is the fullest, although we may doubt the truth of some of his statements: *e. g.*, that the chief contrivers of the imposture made a formal compact with the devil, signed with the blood of each. Pp. 363-4.

practised on him, the Dominicans attempted to poison him. The bishop of Lausanne and the magistrates of Berne interfered in the matter. A commission, composed of two bishops and the provincial of the Dominicans, was sent by the pope to investigate it; and the prior and three other monks of the convent at Berne, who had been most active in the imposture, were convicted, degraded, made over to the secular arm, and burnt.[o] The detection of this abominable trick gave a triumph to the opposite party, and redounded to the advantage of the doctrine against which the Dominicans had employed such discreditable means.[p] May 31, 1508.

IV. *Arts and Learning.*

(1.) Although the highest perfection of pointed architecture had passed away before the time with which we are now concerned, a development of the style continued to prevail in the countries north of the Alps, and was displayed in many splendid and celebrated works,—among them a great part of the church of St. Ouen, at Rouen, and the chapel of King's College at Cambridge.[q] To this time are due many of the loftiest and most majestic towers—such as the spires of Chartres and Antwerp,[r] and, in the very end of the period, the central tower of Canterbury. In our own country the fifteenth century produced a multitude of buildings of all classes, from the abbey or cathedral (although in these the work of this age was mostly limited to alterations and ad-

[o] Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 1509, p 432; Argentré, i. 348; Hottinger, l. c. 355-413; Burnet, Letters from Switzerland and Italy, 30-42 (Amsterd. 1686); Schröckh, xxxiii. 385-9. Erasmus says that money would probably have bought them off with the pope, but that the cardinal of Sion insisted on their punishment. Exequiæ Seraph., Opera, t. i. 870.

[p] See the Epp. Obscurorum Virorum, 105.

[q] This was not seriously taken in hand until 1479, and was continued at intervals until 1530. Fergusson, Modern Architecture, 14; Hist. of Archit. i. 510.

[r] Ib. 490, 544.

ditions) down to humble parochial churches and chapels. Where architects were at liberty to indulge their fancy, they became more and more disposed to overload their work with ornament, as in Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster, and in the church of Brou in Bresse, erected by Margaret of Austria in memory of her husband, Philibert of Savoy. A comparison of these typical examples is said to show that the faults of the late Gothic style were exaggerated far more in France than in England.[s]

But south of the Alps an entire change came over the prevailing taste in architecture. In the great cathedral of Milan, indeed, an attempt was made to borrow Gothic art from Germany; but the result, however wonderful in itself, is something greatly vitiated from the purity of the pointed manner.[t] The revolution which took place in literature had its parallel in art.[u] Brunelleschi, a Florentine, is regarded as the great connecting link between the earlier and the later architecture. In company with his countryman Donatello, who holds a similar place in the history of sculpture,[x] he lived among the ruins of Rome, both supporting themselves by working as goldsmiths, while each, with a view to his own art, was deeply studying the remains of classical antiquity.[y] Brunelleschi applied mathematical science to architecture in a degree unknown to his predecessors;[z] and, discarding the use of buttresses, which had been necessary and cha-

[s] Martin, vi. 368; Fergusson, i. 511-12.

[t] Ib. ii. 211; Milm. vi. 406; Martin, vi. 467.

[u] Fleury says amusingly of the schoolmen, "Souvenons-nous que ces théologiens vivoient dans un temps dont tous les autres monuments ne nous paroissent point estimables . . . . du temps de ces bâtiments gothiques si chargés de petits ornements, et si peu agréables en effet, qu'aucun architecte ne voudroit les imiter." Disc. at end of B. xxiii. sect. 14.

[x] See Vasari, iii. 249, 264, 269; Crowe-Cavalcaselle, ii. 277. Donatello was born in 1386, and died in 1466. See as to him, Perkins, Tuscan Sculpture, 137, seqq.

[y] Vasari, iii. 201-2, ed. Lemonnier, Florence.

[z] The story of setting an egg upright by breaking the end, which is usually connected with Columbus, is told of Brunelleschi by Vasari, iii. 209.

racteristic features in the buildings of the middle ages, he completed the work of Arnulf[a] by raising into the air the vast cupola of the cathedral at Florence.[b] A.D. 1420-45. In this there is still much of the Gothic element; but from the date of it Italian architecture bears the character of the "renaissance"—an eclectic style, in which the details are taken from Greek and Roman models, while the general design is not closely imitative, but, disregarding the bondage of ancient rules, is accommodated to the actual purpose of the building.[c]

At Rome, where the pointed architecture had never taken root,[d] the victory of the new manner was easy. All the popes, from Martin V. to Leo X., were more or less engaged in building and restoration, while many cardinals and others followed their example by erecting churches and palaces. Baccio Pontelli, of Florence, the architect employed by Sixtus IV., was the chief agent in the transition between the medieval style of Rome and the fully-developed modern architecture of which Bramante was the most famous master.[e] Although a rebuilding of the venerable basilica of St. Peter had been projected, and even begun, by Nicolas V.,[f] the greatness of the enterprise seems to have deterred his successors from prosecuting it; and the decaying walls underwent a continual process of repair, until at length Julius II., partly with a view to provide a fitting shrine for the monument which he had commissioned Michael Angelo to prepare for him,[g] began the erection of the new St. Peter's under the superintendence of Bramante.[h]

[a] See vol. vi. p. 464.

[b] Fergusson, Mod. Archit. 40-1. For the story of Brunelleschi's difficulties as to this work, see Vasari.

[c] Reumont, III. ii. 372, 378.

[d] See vol. vi. p. 465.

[e] Reumont, III. i. 374-6, 406, 417.

[f] See pp. 140-1.

[g] Harford, Life of M. Angelo, i. 243.

[h] The foundation was laid on the 18th of April 1506, and the fact was reported to Henry VII. of England by the pope. (Rayn. 1506. 45; Reumont, III. ii. 377.) For a description of the old church, see Reumont, III. i. 445. The cardinals and others opposed the

(2.) While the architecture of the middle ages had a perfection and completeness of its own, the art of painting was still in a far less mature stage; but in this time it reached the greatest excellence which it has ever attained. The study of the antique was introduced, and was encouraged by the discovery of such masterpieces of ancient art as the Apollo, the torso of the Belvedere, and the Laocoon.[l] The study of the anatomical structure of the body, and various technical discoveries, contributed to the advancement of art; and the object proposed was to employ these elements of improved culture on Christian themes.

The first impulse to a new manner was given by Masaccio, of Florence, who was born in 1402 and died in 1443.[k] Florence was, in art as in literature, the head-quarters of the movement of the age;[l] but schools of painting grew up in all parts of Italy.[m] Rome itself did not produce any great master in any branch of art, but sought to draw to itself the most eminent talents from other quarters—from Lombardy, Tuscany, Umbria, or

pope's scheme, not that they did not wish for a new church, but because they reverenced the old one. (Panvin. quoted by Ranke, Hist. of Popes, i. 69.) Vasari complains that in destroying the old buildings Bramante was too careless of preserving antiquities, portraits, monuments, etc. (i. 136-7.) See Gregorov. viii. 124.

[l] Ib. 129, seqq.; Burckhardt, 147.

[k] Vasari, iii. 159, 162; Crowe-Cavalcaselle, i. 519, seqq.

[l] See, as to the admiration expressed by Frederick III. when passing through Florence on his coronation expedition, Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. in Kollar, ii. 240.

[m] *E.g.*, Frederick, duke of Urbino, was a famous patron of art as well as of letters. Not being able to find in Italy painters acquainted with the mysteries of oil, he brought from Flanders' "un maestro solenne," who, among many other "pitture solennissime," painted the philosophers, the poets, and the doctors of the church, both Greek and Latin. (Vespas. in Mai, i. 122.) This painter was Justus of Ghent (Dennistoun, Lives of Dukes of Urbino, ii. 256); and the passage of Vespasian, which was unknown to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, proves that they were right in conjecturally ascribing to Justus a set of pictures which found their way from Urbino into the Campana collection, and are now at Paris—including "Plato, St. Thomas, Bessarion, Virgil, Solon, Pietro Apponio, Dante, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Aristotle, Ptolemy, and Seneca." ii. 563-4.

wherever genius and skill might be found.[n] Sixtus IV., having resolved to decorate his chapel in the Vatican with paintings, employed the Tuscans Signorelli, Botticelli, and Ghirlandajo, with the Umbrians Perugino and Pinturicchio, and others ;[o] but their works in that place were afterwards eclipsed by the grander creations of Michael Angelo Buonarroti. Fresh from the religious lessons of Savonarola,[p] the great Florentine appeared at Rome in 1496, at the age of twenty-one, and four years later he executed the group of the Virgin-mother with the dead Saviour, which now adorns one of the chapels in St. Peter's.[q] Julius, struck with his ability, invited him to return to Rome about 1505, and entrusted him with the preparation of a monument for himself, which was designed on a vast and magnificent plan,[r] but, after having for many years been the cause of infinite vexation to the artist,[s] was so dwarfed and marred in the execution (which is chiefly by other hands), that it may be said to have resulted in little beyond the awful figure of Moses.[t]

At the age of thirty-three Michael Angelo began his labours on the roof of the Sixtine Chapel. It is said by Vasari that he undertook the task unwillingly, as one alien from what he regarded as his true profession of sculptor, and even that it was imposed on him by the pope through the unfriendly influence of Bramante, who expected the

[n] Reumont, III. i. 370, 375 ; ii. 373.

[o] Vasari, i. 40 ; Reumont, III. i. 428-30 ; Gregorov. vii. 676.

[p] See p. 282.

[q] Vasari, xii. 170 ; Reumont, III. i. 424. There is an engraving of this "Pietà" in vol. ii. of Mr. Perkins's Tuscan Sculpture.'

[r] Vasari, xii. 180 ; Reumont, III. ii. 383-4 ; Gregorov. viii. 140.

[s] Vasari, xii. 217-19 ; Comment. ib. 312, seqq.

[t] The monument, as need hardly be said, eventually found its place, not in the great church of the Vatican, where Julius is buried, but in St. Peter's *ad Vincula*, of which he had been cardinal. Of the Moses, Vasari says, "Ha certo aria di vero santo e terribilissimo principe . . . e seguitono gli Ebrei di andare, come fanno ogni sabato, a schieri, e maschi e femine, come gli storni, à visitarlo ed adorarlo, che non cosa umana ma divina adoreranno." (xii. 183.) See Perkins, Tuscan Sculpture, ii. 47.

result to be a failure.[u] The same writer tells us that, although Michael Angelo had to overcome the difficulties of fresco-painting, which was new to him,[x] and dismissed all assistants on finding that they were unequal to his requirements,[y] this gigantic work was executed by him between the 10th of May 1508 and the 1st of November in the following year.[z] But the story is incredible, and the truth appears to be that, although on All Saints'-day 1509 the artist allowed the scaffolding to be removed so that his impatient patron might see the amount of his progress, the labour which gave being to "the most majestic forms that painting has yet embodied,"[a] continued to occupy him during the following three years.[b]

A.D. 1508. In the meantime Raphael Sanzio, of Urbino, eight years younger than Michael Angelo, was introduced by his kinsman Bramante to the papal court, and at twenty-five began his series of pictures in the chambers of the Vatican,[c] where, while the doctrine of the church is represented by the Miracle of Bolsena and the Dispute on the Sacrament, the revived classicism of the age appears in the School of Athens and the Parnassus.[d] At the time of Julius's death Raphael was engaged on his Heliodorus, a work intended to symbolize the expulsion of the "barbarians" from the sacred soil of Italy, and under Leo he continued to paint subjects which have a like reference to the history of his new patron. Thus the Attila,[e] which again signified the repulse of the barbarian invaders, the Fire of the Borgo, the Defeat of the Saracens at Ostia, the Coronation of

[u] Vasari, xii. 188.
[x] Harford, i. 257, 259, 264.
[y] Vasari, iii. 190.
[z] Ib. 191; xiii. 349-51.
[a] Eastlake, Literature of the Fine Arts, 232. See Martin, vii. 466, seqq.
[b] Gregorov. viii. 148, seqq., quoting H. Grimm's Life of M. Angelo. See too, Harford, i. 264. The Last Judgment in the Sixtine chapel is of much later date, and was uncovered on Christmas-day 1541. Gregorov. 149.
[c] Vasari, vii. 138; Reumont, III. ii. 386, 388.
[d] Gregorov. viii. 149, 156.
[e] See vol. ii. p. 173.

Charlemagne, were all commemorative of older popes who had borne the same name with their reigning successor.[f]

Admirable as were the advances of this time in art, they were too commonly accompanied by a decay of that religious feeling which had animated the older Christian painters, and which the statutes of the artistic guilds in some places had enjoined their members to cultivate.[g] Of Angelico of Fiesole, who, although he lived in the days of the classical revival, remained unaffected by it,[h] it is said that he never took up his brush without prayer;[i] but in many of those who came after him the influence of the paganizing opinions and of the corrupted society which surrounded them is only too evident. The spiritual qualities which are expressed in their works came in too many instances from the power of the artist's mind and hand, rather than from any kindred elements in himself.[k]

In German and Flemish art the influence of the classical revival was as yet hardly felt. Albert Dürer, although

Reumont, III. ii. 400, 418, etc.

[g] See Lord Lindsay, iii. 190, seqq.; Dennistoun, Dukes of Urbino, ii. 153-5.

[h] Crowe-Cavalcaselle, i. 550, 582.

[i] Vasari, iv. 39; cf. iii. 249, 264, 269.

[k] Gregorov. vii. 681. Thus Perugino, whose pictures are often marked by a mystical and ecstatic beauty, is described as a disbeliever in the immortality of the soul, a man without religion, and caring for nothing but money. (Vasari, vi. 50.) Filippo Lippi, a Carmelite friar, who "executed devotional pictures in greater number than all the other Florentine painters together" (Rio, De l'Art Chrétien, i. 358-9), was, according to Vasari, a man of the most brutally violent passions. (iv. 118.) Being engaged by a convent of nuns to paint the Virgin-mother, he produced a work of exquisite tenderness and purity, but seduced the novice who sat to him as a model. The pope offered to release him from his vows, in order that he might marry her, but he preferred to remain a friar, that his amorous tastes might not be restrained. (Ib. 122, 129.) Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle question this story, but seemingly on grounds of charity only. (ii. 324, 333.) Lionardo da Vinci, the painter of the famous Last Supper, at Milan, and the most universal genius of an age when the greatest artists were at once painters, sculptors, and architects, and some of them were also poets, musicians, and engineers—is spoken of by M. Henri Martin as a pagan. (vii. 238-9.) But Vasari says only that he was negligent of his religious duties until on his death-bed, and that he was then very penitent and believing. vii. 36. [See as to Lionardo the 'Edin Review,' Jan. 1875.]

his works excited the admiration of Raphael, remained to the last intensely German, and his Christianity has little in common with the new spirit which had transformed the art of Italy.[l]

(3.) The invention of printing coincided, in a manner which cannot fail to suggest a variety of reflections and speculations to every mind, with that revival of ancient literature to which the new art lent itself as a powerful agent.[m] The first complete book produced by the press is supposed to be the Bible published by Gutenberg and Schöffer at Mentz, in 1455—a vast effort for an art which was as yet only in its birth.[n] From Mentz the great discovery was carried, chiefly by Germans, into other countries, and within a few years it was widely diffused.[o] The Jews took advantage of it to produce a complete edition of the Old Testament at Soncino (a little town of Lombardy), in 1488, some portions of their Scriptures having already appeared in a detached form;[p] but it was not until nearly thirty years later that the New Testament was published in the original language. Cardinal Ximenes, whose zeal for the promotion of religion and learning contrasts brightly with the intolerance which led him to persecute the Jews and the Moors of Spain, conceived the idea of publishing, as an antidote to heresy, a Bible which should contain the original Scriptures with the chief ancient versions.[q] With a view to this he collected manuscripts, including some which were supplied from the papal library;[r] he employed a band of scholars in editing the book, and imported type-cutters and

[l] See Lord Lindsay, iii. 375-6. Dürer was born in 1471, and died in 1528. Kugler, ed. Waagen, 1860, pp. 143, seqq.

[m] See Trithem. 'Nepiachus,' in Eccard, ii. 1827-8.

[n] Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 208, 211.

[o] See as to Rome, above, p. 191, and as to Italy generally, Tirab. VI. i. 140.

[p] Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 263.

[q] Gomecius, Vita Ximen. 966; Rayn. 1502. 25.

[r] Gom. 966; see Hefele, 117; Herzog, xviii. 330. Thanks are expressed for this favour in the Prologue, fol. iii.

founders from Germany; and, after fifteen years of labour, he had, shortly before his death, the satisfaction of witnessing the completion of the great work, on which he had expended enormous sums, and which he had watched in its progress with unremitting interest and care.[s] The printing was executed at Alcalá de Henares, where the cardinal's munificence had founded an university;[t] and from the Latin name of the city, Complutum, the book is known as the Complutensian Polyglott. Its six volumes, dedicated to pope Leo contain the Old Testament in Hebrew, with the Chaldee paraphrase of the Pentateuch; the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, the New Testament in Greek, and the Latin Vulgate translation of the whole, with literal Latin versions of the Septuagint and of the Chaldee, a Hebrew dictionary, and other supplementary matter.[u] A.D. 1502-17.

The Complutensian New Testament was finished in 1514; but as the publication of the Polyglott was delayed by the death of Ximenes, in November 1517, and the copies were not sent forth until 1522, the Greek New Testament of Erasmus, published at Basel in 1516, was the first edition in which the original text of the Christian Scriptures was given to the world.[x]

(4.) The press was largely employed in producing vernacular translations of the Scriptures. It is remarkable that in England the labours of Wyclif, instead of pro-

[s] Gom. 966; Schröckh, xxxiv. 81; Prescott, iii. 304-6.

[t] As to this see Gomez, 965, 1006, seqq.; Prescott, iii. 298, seqq.; Hefele, c. xi. When visited by Francis I., Alcalá had 7000 members. Presc. iii. 302.

[u] Horne, Introd. to the Scriptures, iv. 711, ed. 1856; Herzog, xii. 23-4; Hefele, c. xii. The number of copies was 600 (Hefele, 118), which, at the price stated in the end of the prologue —6½ ducats, with a slight addition for carriage,—would have repaid only a very small fraction of the cost. The publication was sanctioned by a brief of Leo X., dated March 20, 1522, which is prefixed to the book. For Ximenes' other patronage of literature, see Gomez, 967-8. Among the books published under his care was a life of St. Thomas of Canterbury. (Ib.)

[x] Schröckh, xxx. 176; xxxiv. 85; Hefele, 133.

moting such works, deterred men from undertaking them on account of the obloquy which was attached to his name, so that no printed English Bible existed until the time of the Reformation.[y] But in Germany there were many complete editions in various dialects before the end of the fifteenth century, besides separate publications of particular books.[z] There was also a complete Italian translation; and portions of the Scriptures had been printed in French, Bohemian, and other languages. All these were rendered from the Latin Vulgate.[a]

It is supposed that such translations found their circulation in great part among persons of a mystical tendency or of suspected orthodoxy.[b] The ecclesiastical authorities, in alarm at the operations of the press, endeavoured to control them by establishing a censorship. The first attempt of this sort was made in 1486, by Berthold of Henneberg, archbishop of Mentz, who forbade the printing and sale of books without a licence, and complained of the translation of works on "Divine offices and the high points[c] of our religion" in German,—a language which he considered inadequate to express the higher religious matters, and likely to expose them to disgrace.[d] In 1501, Alexander VI. sent forth a bull with special reference to the provinces of Cologne, Mentz, Treves, and Magdeburg, denouncing the printing of books "contain-

[y] Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 238. The Wycliffite versions had continued to be circulated long after archbishop Arundel's condemnation of them—the greater part of the existing copies having been apparently written between 1420 and 1450, and "nearly half being of a small size, such as could be made the constant daily companions of their owners"; but they "do not seem to have exercised any influence on the later English versions, unless an exception be made in the case of the Latin-English Testament of Coverdale." Westcott, Hist. of the English Bible, 24, 172.

[z] Fritzsche, in Herzog, iii. 337, enumerates fourteen complete editions in High German before 1518, and four in Low German before 1522. Cf. Giesel. II. iv. 350, 481.

[a] Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 238.

[b] Giesel. II. iv. 348. [c] "Apicibus."

[d] Giesel. II. iv. 350; see p. 351, above, as to Pecock. Berthold is greatly praised as a statesman and in his general character by Ranke, Hist. of Reform. i. 131.

ing various errors and pernicious doctrines, even hostile to the Catholic faith," and ordering that for the future nothing should be printed except with archiepiscopal licence, and that the obnoxious books already in existence should be destroyed.[e] In 1502, a censorship was established in Spain, at first under royal authority, from which it was afterwards transferred to the inquisition ;[f] and the Lateran council, at its tenth session, approved a bull by which a censorship was instituted for the prevention of publications dangerous to faith or morals.[g]

(5.) In addition to Alcalá, several universities were founded during this time,—among them, Wittenberg, in Saxony, which was soon to become famous in connexion with the Reformation ;[h] Buda, Copenhagen,[i] St. Andrew's,[k] Glasgow,[l] and Aberdeen.[m] By thus bringing home the opportunities of academical education to various countries, the great mass of students were spared the cost, the labour, and perhaps something of the moral temptations[n] connected with a resort to Paris, Bologna, or Oxford ; but on the other hand there was a disadvantage in the decrease of intercommunication between the nations of Europe.[o]

The university of Rome, after having been dormant during the great schism, was refounded in 1431 by Eugenius IV.[p] Alexander VI. erected new buildings for it,

[e] Rayn. 1501. 36. [f] Prescott, ii. 190.

[g] Hard. ix. 1779-81.

[h] Founded in 1502. Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 402.

[i] Münter, ii. 1003 ; Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 224.

[k] "So early as 1410, the first professors of St. Andrew's had begun their labours." (Cunningham, i. 185.) Benedict XIII. in 1413 granted a bull of confirmation, dated from Peñiscola. See National MSS. of Scotland, ii. No. 63, and Introd. p. xv. A bull of Nicolas V., A.D. 1451, is given by Theiner, Monum. 383.

[l] Ib. 382 ; Cunningham, i. 191-6.

[m] Bull of Alexander VI., 1494, Nat. MSS. of Scotl. iii. No. 8 ; Fasti Aberdonenses, ed. C. Innes (Spalding Club), 1854.

[n] Æneas Sylvius gives no good account of the habits of Vienna students. He says also that few of them have Aristotle's books, but that they generally use commentaries. Hist. Frid. ii. 12.

[o] Schmidt, iv. 494.

[p] Tirab. VI. i. 85 ; Reumont, III. i. 311.

and was a benefactor to it in other ways;[q] and it was more fully organized under the patronage and by the bounty of Leo X.[r]

In England, this period was marked by many foundations for the purpose of education. Among them were the royal school of Eton, the colleges founded at Cambridge by Henry VI. and his queen, by the mother of Henry VII., and by Alcock, bishop of Ely, with those of archbishop Chichele, and bishops Fleming, Waynefleet, Smith, and Fox at Oxford. Yet learning, at least during the earlier part of the time, made little progress. Poggio, who visited this country about 1420, finds fault with the barbarous and obsolete nature of our university studies.[s] There are great complaints as to the decay of Oxford, which was such that at one time Paris suspended correspondence with the English university.[t] This decay was in part traced to the uncertainty of ecclesiastical promotion, in consequence of which the universities are found petitioning archbishop Chichele and others, that in the disposal of patronage a regard may be had to the claims of graduates in such matters.[u] Erasmus, in 1513, speaks of a great revival and extension of studies as having taken place at Cambridge within the last thirty years, so that the university might then "compete with the first schools of the age";[x] and there can be no doubt that Oxford had shared in the improvement.

At Paris the university was for a time distracted by a continuation of the old feuds between mendicants and seculars, between nominalists and realists; but these were now superseded by a change which furnished new subjects and causes of dispute.[y]

[q] Gregorov. vii. 515.

[r] P. Jovius, Vita Leonis, 58; Roscoe, i. 339; Gregorov. viii. 291.

[s] Pauli, v. 671-3.

[t] Wood, Hist. Oxf. i. 618. But perhaps national enmity had something to do with this.

[u] Wilk. iii. 381, 401, 528, 539, 541; Hook, v. 110.

[x] Ep. 143.

[y] Argentré, i. 302, etc.; Giesel. II. iv. 321; Martin, vii. 157.

(6.) From Italy, where the revival of Greek learning began, it spread into the countries north of the Alps. The first German who distinguished himself in the new study was Rudolf Haussmann (or Agricola), who, under the patronage of a bishop of Worms, lectured there and at Heidelberg.[z] In France the cultivation of Greek was encouraged by Lewis XI., who was favourable to all progress which did not conflict with his despotism ;[a] and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Budé taught with great fame at Paris. In England, where the Greek language was introduced by Sellyng, prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, after a visit to Italy in 1480,[b] there soon grew up a band of zealous scholars, among whom Grocyn, Linacre, William Latimer, Colet, and Thomas More were conspicuous.[c]

In Italy, the merits of Aristotle and Plato were discussed by their respective partisans, both Greek refugees and Italians, with the same eagerness which had marked the contests between the nominalists and the realists.[d] Platonism—or rather the later Alexandrian philosophy which was mistaken for it—was taught at Florence by Marsiglio Ficino, who, although a canon of the cathedral and an admired preacher, is said to have been so devoted to the Greek sage that the only image admitted into his study was one of Plato, before which a lamp was continually burning.[e] This eclectic system associated Orpheus with Moses, Plato with the Saviour, classicism with Christian faith, while it contained much admixture of superstition and mysticism ; and by such doctrines it was that Ficino proposed to overcome the repugnance which the men of letters of his day too commonly felt for Chris-

[z] Schröckh, xxx. 209, seqq. ; Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 284.

[a] Martin, vii. 155.

[b] Hasted, Hist. of Kent, iv. 555-6, folio ed. ; Hallam, H. L. i. 322.

[c] Hallam, H. L. i. 322-3.

[d] Tirab. VI. i. 303 ; Ritter, ix. 220, seqq.

[e] Burlamacchi in Baluz. Miscell. i. 547 ; Tirab. VI. i. 319 ; Pressel, in Herzog, xii. 402.

tianity[f]—that as they had been led away by philosophy from the Christian faith, they might by a truer philosophy be brought back to it. The Florentine Academy founded by Cosmo de' Medici, and patronized by Lorenzo,[g] celebrated the festival of Plato's birth and death on the 29th of November;[h] and we have already met with the similar association at Rome, over which Pomponio Leti presided, and which perhaps deserved the suspicions of pope Paul II. in a greater degree than Platina would allow.[i] Leti and others of the Italians, provoked by the exclusiveness of the votaries of Greek literature, and regarding themselves as representatives of the ancient conquerors of the world, betook themselves in opposition to asserting the claims of Latin;[k] and some of them, discarding the free and expressive, although inelegant, Latinity of the middle ages, made it their study to imitate the purity and graces of Cicero. The absurdities which resulted from this pedantic affectation were exposed at a somewhat later date by the keen satire of Erasmus, who defined the true Ciceronianism to be that the moderns should speak as Cicero would have spoken in their circumstances.[l] Erasmus does not spare the pagan tendencies which found a shelter under the profession

[f] Villari, i. 52-6; Giesel. II. iv. 505; Hallam, H. L., i. 206, 246; Ritter, ix. 272-9; Pressel, l. c. 403; Martin, vii. 231-3; Burckhardt, 404; Seebohm, 'The Oxford Reformers of 1498,' 11-13, 158, ed. 2.

[g] See Ritter, ix. 268, seqq.

[h] Hallam, H. L., i. 246; Villari, i. 64; Harford, 'Life of M. Angelo,' i. 61-2.

[i] P. 190. See Tirab. VI. i. 93.

[k] See p. 191.

[l] Opera, i. 997. The 'Ciceronianus' appeared in 1528. See as to the absurdity of attempting to express in Ciceronian language ideas peculiar to Christianity, coll. 995, 1021. There is an analysis of this dialogue by Gibbon in his Miscellaneous Works (448, seqq.) Bembo is said to have carried his Ciceronianism "to so ridiculous an extreme, as professedly to avoid the perusal of his Bible and Breviary, for fear of spoiling his Latinity" (Greswell, 'Lives of Politian, etc.,' 136). He represents the Venetian senate as exhorting the pope "uti fidat Diis immortalibus, quorum vicem gerit in terris" (Bayle, art. *Bembus*, n. B); and Rinaldi thinks it necessary to reduce to the usual pontifical style documents in which the Ciceronianizing secretary had introduced pagan Latinity (1513. 100). There were

of Ciceronianism,[m] and which in many places showed themselves in a strange mixture of heathen with Christian ideas.[n] The classical revival had, indeed, produced much unbelief,[o] and many of the worst corruptions of heathen morality.[p] Even in the papal court, a light and sceptical tone prevailed;[q] nay, as we have seen, even some popes were not above the suspicion of disbelieving the very elements of Christian faith.[r]

(7.) In Germany the "humanist" movement took a different course; for, as the cultivation of the new learning had begun in such institutions as the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life,[s] it was brought into the service of religion, and issued, not in a contempt for the Christian faith, but in a desire of reform.[t] In Germany, however, as elsewhere, the old academics, far from originating or welcoming the classical movement, looked down with the contempt of superior knowledge on those whom they styled grammarians or poets, while these in turn regarded the doctors of the earlier school as antiquated and barbarous.[u]

The most eminent humanists of Germany were Reuchlin and Erasmus. Reuchlin, who was born in 1465, at

degrees of refinement in Ciceronianism, so that the style of its first professors was not pure enough for the later adepts. Thus, Paul Manutius would not use the words of Cicero's correspondents, but only those which had the sanction of the great classic himself. Hallam, H. L., i. 447; Burckhardt, 198.

[m] 'Ciceronianus,' 998-9, 1025.

[n] Burckhardt, 117, 203. Paul Cortesius, a papal secretary, attempted, with bad success, to put the doctrines of the church into the classical Latin (Giesel. II. iv. 511). Sanazzaro's poem, "De Partu Virginis," is famous for its mixture of heathen mythology. Greswell, 102.

[o] Gibbon, vi. 256.

[p] Gregorov. viii. 280.

[q] Ranke, Hist. of Popes, i. 74; Gregorov. viii. 268.

[r] P. 323. Mr Gregorovius observes that if the stories as to Leo X. are untrue, they are yet characteristic of the atmosphere which prevailed in the Vatican. viii. 272.

[s] See vol. vii. p. 472. There were 45 of these schools in 1430, and more than thrice that number in 1460. Hallam, H. L., i. 148.

[t] Giesel. II. iv. 511-13.

[u] Schmidt, iv. 494; Sir W. Hamilton in Edinb. Rev., March, 1831, 185-6. When Greek was introduced at Oxford under Henry VII., the opposite party styled themselves Trojans. Hallam, M.A., ii. 527.

Pforzheim, studied at the new university of Freiburg, and through the patronage of Eberhard, count of Würtemberg, was enabled to continue his studies at Paris,[x] and to travel in Italy, where, according to the fashion of the age, he grecised his name into Capnio.[y] He became an advocate, was much employed by count Eberhard in political missions, and enjoyed the favour of the emperor Frederick;[z] and after Eberhard's death, in 1496, he settled at Heidelberg, where he found a new patron in Philip Count Palatine.[a] By Reuchlin the study of classical literature was greatly promoted in Germany; but he is more especially noted as the first of his countrymen who cultivated Hebrew learning. Unfortunately he took up from his Jewish teachers much of the mysticism which was prevalent among them; he dabbled in astrology, and endeavoured to reconcile Judaism and Christianity by means of the Cabbala.[b] Reuchlin, although he had been appointed advocate of the Dominican order, had already offended the monastic party by a satirical comedy,[c] when he was involved in a quarrel with John Pfefferkorn, a Jew of Cologne, who, at the age of fifty, had professed Christianity.[d] Pfefferkorn had published sundry writings for the purpose of converting his brethren, but without success; when, finding argument useless, he petitioned the emperor Maximilian that all Jewish books except the Bible might be destroyed, in order to deprive the Jews of support for their unbelief.[e]

A.D. 1509.

By this petition he obtained an imperial order, author-

[x] Geiger, 'Johann Reuchlin, sein Leben u. seine Werke,' Leip. 1871, pp. 7-8.

[y] From *καπνός* = Germ. *Rauch* = *smoke*. See as to him Trithem. Catal. 171; De Script. Illustr. 389.

[z] See the last of the 'Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ ad Joh. Reuchlin,' dated 1492.

[a] Schröckh, xxx. 226-8; Geiger, 41.

[b] Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 290; Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 299; Strauss, 'Ulrich v. Hutten,' i. 191; Geiger, 171, seqq.

[c] Schröckh, xxx. 230. For an account of this, which bore the title of *Sergius*, see Geiger, 79, seqq.

[d] Hallam, i. 408.

[e] See Geiger, 209, seqq.

izing the destruction of Jewish books which attacked the Christian religion; but Pfefferkorn proceeded to confiscate all Hebrew writings without distinction, and the archbishop of Mentz, Uriel of Gemmingen, suggested to the emperor that Reuchlin and other competent authorities should be consulted on the subject.[f] With the emperor's sanction, Reuchlin was requested to state his opinion; and he replied by an argumentative treatise.[g] He distinguished the books of the Jews into seven classes; among the lighter sort, he said, might be a few in mockery of the Christian religion, but these were condemned by the Jewish doctors themselves as false and calumnious.[h] The rest ought not to be destroyed, but might be studied by Christians, as Moses, Solomon, and Daniel had studied the wisdom of the heathen. He insisted on the utility of Hebrew for Christian theologians, and recommended that during the next ten years it should be taught in universities, as a means of furnishing them with better weapons against the Jews than those which Pfefferkorn wished to employ.[i] A.D. 1510.

Pfefferkorn furiously assailed Reuchlin in a book to which he gave the name of 'Handspiegel' ('Hand-glass'); to which Reuchlin rejoined with vehemence in one entitled 'Augenspiegel' ('Eye-glass'), professing to convict his adversary of thirty-four untruths.[k] The matter was taken up by the Dominicans of Cologne, who frightened Reuchlin into an apology; but when they went on to require that he should retract, he refused, and stood on his defence. The inquisitor of the province of Cologne, James Hoogstraten, or Hochstraten (who had already written against Reuchlin),[l] A.D. 1511.

[f] Geiger, 211.

[g] Ib., 216-20. This and other documents of the affair are in Von der Hardt's Hist. Literaria Reformationis, Pt. II.

[h] V. d. Hardt, 20-1.

[i] Ib. 34.

[k] Strauss, i. 200. This is reprinted by Von der Hardt, pp. 16, seqq.

[l] Geiger, 197.

went to Mentz, and there, although beyond his jurisdiction, set up a court, by which Reuchlin, notwithstanding his protestations on the ground of irregularity, was condemned for the publication of the 'Eye-glass.' But the proceedings were stayed by the archbishop of Mentz, and Reuchlin appealed to the pope.[m] The matter was referred by Leo to the bishop of Spires, who appointed a commission of doctors to investigate it; and these condemned Hoogstraten to pay Reuchlin damages for the irregularity and injustice of his proceedings towards him.[n] Meanwhile, the Dominicans at Cologne had publicly burnt the 'Eye-glass,' and had obtained opinions in their favour from Paris and other universities.[o] Again the case was carried before Leo, and Reuchlin's cause was supported by the recommendations of a multitude of princes and prelates.[p] Leo, at once unwilling to condemn the humanists and to provoke the Dominicans, committed the investigation to cardinal Grimani;[q] and, although the Dominicans were greatly annoyed, Reuchlin was but imperfectly satisfied by the issue of a mandate which, instead of pronouncing for either party, *superseded* the suit.[r]

Oct. 1513.

A.D. 1516.

In 1519, however, the quarrel was decided after the manner of the age and country. Francis von Sickingen, a gallant but somewhat lawless noble,[s] threatened that unless the judgment of Spires were carried out within a

[m] Schröckh, xxx. 244-9; Strauss, i. 210.

[n] Schröckh, xxx. 249-50. See Reuchlin to Erasmus, in Erasm. Epp. Append. 5. Hochstraten afterwards attacked Luther, who answered him characteristically—"Ito ergo infelix et cruente parricida," etc. Opera, i. 156; Witemb. 1582.

[o] Bulæus, vi. 47, seqq., 52, 61, seqq.; Strauss, i. 212.

[p] Schröckh, xxx. 250; Strauss, i. 211.

[q] Erasmus in a letter to Grimani, whom he had known at Rome (Ep. 167), expresses great indignation at the conduct of Reuchlin's adversaries. In Ep. 168, he recommends him to the favour of card. Raphael Riario.

[r] Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 304; Giesel. II. iv. 833; Hallam, i. 410.

[s] See Strauss, ii. 73, seqq. He was

month, he would lay waste the territory of Cologne.[t] In consequence of this threat, Hoogstraten and his party paid the damages, and although they made underhand attempts to excite the Roman court against Reuchlin, and even procured a fresh condemnation of his book, it appears that he suffered no actual molestation until his death in June, 1522.[u]

In this controversy Reuchlin was supported by the friends of intellectual progress throughout Europe, who, indeed, learnt from it to acknowledge a common interest, so that some of them even spoke of themselves as Reuchlinists.[x] There were writings on both sides, both serious and satirical; and of these by far the most effective was the collection of letters entitled 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum,' of which the first part appeared in 1515 and the second in 1517.[y] The chief authors of these letters are supposed to have been John Jäger, a professor of Erfurt, who styled himself Crotus Rubianus,[z] and Ulric von Hutten, a young literary adventurer of noble family and brilliant talents, of loose morality and strong reforming zeal.[a]

drawn into Reuchlin's interest, as afterwards into that of Luther, by Hutten.

[t] See his notice to the German Dominicans, in Hutten, ed. Böcking, Supplem. i. 438-9.

[u] Geiger, b. III. c. vii. The further proceedings at Rome are commonly overlooked, as by Schröckh, xxx. 251. See Strauss, ii. 19-23.

[x] Rayn. 1516. 84-6; Schröckh, xxx. 247-50; Hallam, i. 408; Strauss, i. 213.

[y] There is, in some of the editions since 1689, a third part, of different authorship, and far inferior. It is reprinted in Münch's edition. See Strauss, i. 232.

[z] *Crotus*, derived from κροτέω, was supposed to mean *Jäger*, the English *Hunter*. *Rubianus*, from *rubus*, referred to his birthplace, *Dorn*heim (Strauss, i. 26.) Crotus afterwards became a friend of Luther, but eventually fell back to the Roman church. Schröckh, xxx. 267-8. See Geiger, 343-4.

[a] Hutten was born in 1488, and died in 1523. Mr. Hallam says that his "early death seems more likely to have spared the reformers some degree of shame, than to have deprived them of a useful supporter" (Hist. Lit. i. 409). His works, and those which have been attributed to him, were edited by E. Münch, Berlin, 1821-7; but this "incredibly bad edition," as the later editor calls it (i. 102†) has been superseded by that of Böcking, Leipzig, 1859-70. Mr. Böcking, in his supple-

The title of this famous satire was suggested by the 'Letters of Illustrious Men' to Reuchlin, which some of his friends had published in 1514, with the intention of supporting him in his contest with the Dominicans.[b] To these is opposed a set of 'Letters of Obscure Men,' addressed to Ortuinus Gratius (Ortwin von Graes), of Cologne, who was supposed to have helped Pfefferkorn in his Latin, and was obnoxious to the Reuchlinists from having taken the side opposite to that on which, as a pupil of the school of Deventer and as a professor of "humane" literature, he might have been expected to range himself.[c] The 'Obscure Men' display, with an air of entire unconsciousness, the characteristics of the vulgar monkish party—their stupidity, narrowness, and ignorance, their hatred of improvement and enlightenment, their intolerance, their obtuse self-satisfaction, their absurd pedantry, their coarse and shameless sensuality. They dispute in scholastic form about nonsensical questions; they look down with the contempt of professed theologians on Reuchlin, as a lawyer who had irregularly intruded into their province;[d] they would prohibit Greek and the "new Latinity";[e] and their barbarous Latin has an air of verisimilitude which is irresistibly comical. The

mentary volumes, has done much for the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum.' Among the writings in which Hutten is supposed to have shared, is the 'Triumphus Capnionis' (reprinted by Münch, ii. 359, seqq., and by Böcking, iii. 476-47). As to this piece, and its authorship, see Strauss, i. 216; Böcking, ii. 414-16. The various theories as to the authorship of the 'Epistolæ' are stated by Sir W. Hamilton ('Discussions,' 221-3), whose own conclusion is, that Crotus, Hutten, and Busch were the writers (223). Dr. Strauss supposes Crotus the originator, and ttributes to Hutten those letters in which an acquaintance with Italy appears, as Hutten was in that country when the first portion was published, and the letters of this kind are all in Part II (i. 263). Cf. Neudecker in Herzog, iv. 112.

[b] 'Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ Latinæ, Græcæ et Hebraicæ, variis semporibus missæ ad Joh. Reuchlin Phorcensem, Legum Doctorem.' See Strauss, i. 233. The first letter in the collection is dated 1497. There is an edition printed at Zurich, in 1558.

[c] Epp. Obscurorum Virorum, p. 418, ed. Lond. 1710; Strauss, i. 206; Geiger, 321.

[d] P. 211; cf. Strauss, i. 203.

[e] Pp. 211, 213, 232, 235.

audacity of the book is astounding; the writers are not restrained by any considerations of decency or reverence, and the liberties taken with Ortwin,[f] with Pfefferkorn and his wife, with Hoogstraten and others, must appear to a modern reader outrageous.[g] Among the letters of imaginary persons, whose vulgar German names are rendered more ridiculous by Latin terminations, are some which are impudently ascribed to Ortwin, to Arnold of Tongres, who had been concerned in the affair of Reuchlin, and to the formidable Hoogstraten himself, whose adventures in pursuing the suit against Reuchlin at Rome are represented as having ended in the exhaustion of his purse, so that he had to plod his way homewards on foot, exposed to all the inclemency of the seasons.[h]

The effect of these letters was immense, and was not to be counteracted by any publications on the other side. It is indeed said with apparent seriousness (although we may find it difficult to believe the statement) that the imitation of the monkish style was so successful as to deceive some of the satirized party, who lauded and circulated the book as a precious contribution to the cause of orthodoxy.[i] But those against whom it was more immediately directed applied at Rome for a con-

[f] Ortwin is represented as the son of a priest, and as himself a man of loose morals, and too intimate with Mrs. Pfefferkorn. He is said to have a maternal uncle who is a hangman, and this personage (who styles himself "Zizaniæ extirpator, hoc est, furum suspensor, proditorum quadruplicator, falsariorum et calumniatorum virgator, hæreticorum combustor"), is introduced as one of the letter-writers, rallying Ortwin on his unlucky amours, and drawing a parallel between his own position and that of his kinsman (269, 271). Ortwin (*if* he was the compiler of the 'Fasciculus') was foolish enough to notice these attacks many years afterwards in the Epilogue to that book, where "ob obscuros nebulones et fœdas eorum epistolas, a sede apostolica jampridem condemnatas," he declares himself to be the son of a secular man, Frederick von Graes, and descended from an ancient family in the diocese of Münster. Fascic. i. 479, ed. Brown.

[g] Erasmus expresses strong disapprobation of the personalities contained in the letters. Append. Ep. 160. There is more abuse of Pfefferkorn, in Hutten, ed. Böcking, iii. 345, seqq.

[h] Pp. 72, 107, etc.

[i] Erasm. Ep. 979, col. 1110; T. Morus, in Erasm. t. iii. 1575. Sir W.

demnation of it; and in March 1517 Leo issued a prohibition,[k] which, however, had no other result than to increase the celebrity and the effect of the work.

The fame of Erasmus was more popular and more widely extended than that of Reuchlin. He was born at Rotterdam in 1465,[l] the offspring of a connexion which had become unlawful because the paternal grandfather had determined that one of his many sons should become a monk,[m] and on this account refused to allow his son Gerard to marry the object of his affections. Gerard, who had gone to Italy, was persuaded to enter into the priesthood by information sent by his parents that the mother of his son was dead; and when the irrevocable step had been taken, he discovered that the story was false.[n] Erasmus received the greater part of his early education under the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer. At the age of thirteen he lost both his parents, and was left to the care of guardians, who made away with his property and endeavoured to cover their dishonesty by persuading him to enter a cloister.[o] The influence of his teachers at Deventer was used for the same purpose;[p] but he withstood all solicitations until at length he was overcome by the importunity of a pretended friend, who represented in delusive colours the advantages of the monastic life, and whose treachery and worthlessness he afterwards discovered.[q] At the age of seventeen or eighteen he became a novice; after a year of probation he made his profession among the Augustinian canons of Stein, and in 1492 he was ordained a priest.[r] The cir-

Hamilton points out that Maittaire, in dedicating the London edition of 1710 "Isaaco Bickerstaff, armigero," and Steele, in acknowledging the compliment (Tatler, No. 197), supposed the Letters to be really the work of the pretended writers.

[k] Printed in Münch's Introduction, 21.

[l] See Hallam, i. 402. The date more commonly given is 1467.

[m] Vita (prefixed to his works); Jortin, Life of Erasmus, ed. 1, vol. i. 1-2.

[n] Vita. [o] Ib; Jortin, i. 2-3.

[p] Vita; Ep. 8 (append.); Milman Essays, 83-4.

[q] Vita; Jortin, i. 3-4; Milm.

[r] Jortin, i. 4.

cumstances of his history were not likely to impress him with a favourable opinion of the monastic system, and his experiences of the conventual life were repulsive. We cannot wonder that his tainted birth, his solitary position, the frauds of which he had been the victim, the hardships and uncertainty of a scholar's profession, the pretensions of patrons and the slackness of their performance,[s] with his nervous temperament and the delicate health which was partly the effect of the monastic diet,[t] tended to produce in him a spirit of distrust and caution, which even resulted in something of selfishness.

After having been drawn from his monastery by the bishop of Cambray, he pursued his studies at Paris; and there he met with a pupil, Lord Mountjoy, by whom he was invited to England.[u] His first visit to this country, in 1498, was followed by others in 1505, 1511-14, and 1515, during which, (although he disdained to learn the language, and on that account resigned a benefice bestowed on him by archbishop Warham,[x]) he became acquainted with many eminent men—among them Warham, Wolsey, Fisher bishop of Rochester, Tonstal, afterwards bishop of London and of Durham, Linacre, and the young king Henry VIII.,[y] of whose early promise he speaks in extravagant terms.[z] But his chosen associates were John Colet, dean of St. Paul's and founder of St. Paul's School, by whom his opinions were not a little affected,[a] and Thomas More. With these two he lived

[s] Vita; Ep. 107, etc.

[t] As to the wretched fare, and other miseries which he endured in the College of Montaigu, at Paris, see the 'Ichthyophagia,' Opera, i. 806; and the Life prefixed to his works. The college of Montaigu was noted for the poverty of its scholars and the sharpness of their wits—"Mons acutus, dentes acuti, ingenium acutum." Michelet, iii 221.

[u] Seebohm, 91.

[x] Ep. 144; 'Ecclesiastes,' l. i. (Opera, v. 810-12); Jortin, i. 56. As to Warham, see Epp. 135-6, 167, etc., and especially the 'Ecclesiastes,' l. c.

[y] Epp. 14, 41, 167; Bayle, art. *Erasme*, n. F.

[z] "Defuncto regi successerat plane divinæ cujusdam indolis juvenis, nec ineleganter bonis litteris initiatus" (Ep. 167). He had first seen Henry as a child of nine years old. Seebohm, 134.

[a] Ib. 107, 110.

on terms of familiar intimacy and in a close sympathy of thought. He resided at both the universities, and during his third and longest visit was professor of Greek at Cambridge.

In 1508 he was able to fulfil a long-cherished desire[b] to see Italy, where he was received by scholars and by high ecclesiastical personages with flattering respect.[c] His 'Adagia,' first published in 1500, and afterwards much enlarged, had laid the foundation of a great reputation for ability and learning. His 'Praise of Folly,' meditated during his return from Italy to England,

A.D. 1511. and completed in the house of Sir Thomas More, acquired a vast popularity,—twenty-seven editions, at least, having been published during his lifetime.[d] In this, after a long exordium, in which pedantry is perhaps more conspicuous than wit, he keenly attacks the prevailing follies of all classes, but especially the faults of the clergy and the superstitions which they fostered.[e] His 'Colloquies,' of later date (1527), were so eagerly received that in one year 24,000 copies were sold;[f] and in these he again assailed with especial force the mistaken devotions which the monks inculcated, with the intrusiveness and rapacity of the mendicants in connexion with death-beds, wills, and funerals.[g]

[b] Ep. 59.

[c] Ep. 8, Append.; Vita; Jortin, i. 28.

[d] Strauss, Ulr. v. Hutten, ii. 246.

[e] *E. g.*, Indulgences, Opera, iii. 444; the use of psalms as charms, 445; devotion to particular saints, and expectation of cures from them, 445, 450; pilgrimages, 456; frivolous scholastic disputes, 464; inconsistent formalism, 471; varieties of religious orders, 473; absurdities of preachers, 474; the faults of bishops and popes, Julius's love of war, etc., 482, seqq.; secular lordship of German prelates, 455; absurd misinterpretation of Scripture, 495, etc. See Hallam, i. 404; Milm. 109; Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 289.

[f] This seems, however, to have been partly the effect of a report that the book was forbidden. See Bayle, art. *Erasme*, n. Q. The ordinary number of copies then printed in an edition was 300. (Hallam, i. 341.) Of one of Savonarola's works, 1500 were published. (P. Delfini, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iii. 1154.) Erasmus, notwithstanding the great sale of his works, made but little money by them. Jortin, i. 67.

[g] As to this last, see the dialogue 'Exsequiæ Seraphicæ.'

In addition to his original writings, Erasmus, who about the year 1515 established himself at Basel, where his works were printed by Froben, was diligently employed on labours of other kinds—editions of classical works, of St. Jerome,[h] and other fathers; and in 1516 he produced his Greek New Testament, with a corrected Latin version—the earliest edition, as we have seen, in which the original of the Christian Scriptures was offered to the world.[i]

His old associates at Stein had chosen one of his friends as abbot, and were induced by the renown which Erasmus had acquired to attempt to regain him for their society; but he had been released by the pope from his monastic obligations,[k] and expressed in his answer an inflexible resolution to be no more ensnared in a way of life which his reason, his feelings, and his experience condemned.[l]

A career so brilliant, and at the same time so contrary to the common ecclesiastical manner of thinking, could not be without opposition. His New Testament was attacked: why should the language of the schismatic Greeks interfere with the sacred and traditional Latin? How could any improvement be made on the Vulgate translation? There was a college at Cambridge, especially proud of its theological character, which would not admit a copy within its gates;[m] and from many other quarters there was an outcry against the dangerous novelty.[n] But the editor was able to shelter himself under the name of pope Leo, who had accepted the dedication of the volume.[o]

[h] As to the greatness of this undertaking, see t. iii. 146, also the letter to the pope (Ep. 174), and Jerome's acknowledgment, Ep. 178. [i] P. 387.

[k] Append. Ep. 8, col. 1529.

[l] Ib. Ep. 5, A.D. 1514; Jortin, i. 60; Milm. 107.

[m] "Ne quis id volumen equis aut navibus, aut plaustris aut bajulis intra ejus collegii pomœria inveheret." Ep. 148 (misdated).

[n] Epp. Obsc. Vir. 292; Jortin, i. 49; Giesel. II. iv. 530.

[o] Schröckh, xxxiv. 146.

At the time which we have reached, Erasmus was acknowledged as the chief among scholars and men of letters. He had been patronized, invited, pensioned, tempted with offers of promotion, by all the chief princes of Europe, and by prelates innumerable.[p] And thus far he was regarded by the opponents of innovation as a dangerous reformer. A different state of things was to follow, when, finding himself unable to advance with the movement of popular opinion—unable, from his critical and somewhat indecisive temper, to take part thoroughly either with the reformers or with their adversaries, because he saw, as he believed, the errors of both parties—reproached by those who had left him behind, and distrusted by those whom he had once opposed, but to whose interest he had fallen back,—he spent his last years in disquiet and in the turmoil of bitter controversy, a mark for obloquy from both sides, and at last left as his epitaph the melancholy words, "The Lutheran tragedy loaded him with intolerable ill-will; he was torn in pieces by both parties, while he endeavoured to consult the good of both."[q]

Powerful as scholarship had been in preparing the way for a reformation, the great change which was actually at hand—a change which not only rent from the papacy a large portion of its dominion, but compelled it to undertake new and vigorous measures of internal reform—was not to be accomplished by the efforts of scholars or men of elegant learning, but by ruder and perhaps more earnest labourers.

[p] Append. Ep. 8, etc [q] Vita.

THE END.

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